List of Agents in India and Burma from whom Government of India Publications are available.

AGRA—Indian Army Book Depot, Dayalbagh.

AHMEDABAD—H. L. College of Commerce Co-operative Stores Ltd.

AJMER—Banthiya & Co., Ltd., Station Road.

ALLAHABAD—
- Kitabistan, 17-A, City Road.
- Ram Narain Lal, 1, Bank Road.
- Superintendent, Printing and Stationery, U. P.
- Wheeler & Co., Messrs. A. H.

BOMBAY—
- New Book Co., Kitab Mahal, 188-90, Hornby Road.
- Popular Book Depot, Grant Road.
- Superintendent, Govt. Printing & Stationery, Queen's Road.
- Taraporevala Sons & Co., Messrs. D. B.
- Thacker & Co., Ltd.
- Tripathi & Co., Messrs. N. M., Princess Street, Kalbadevi Road.
- Wheeler & Co., Messrs. A. H.

CALCUTTA—
- Book Company.
- Chatterjee & Co., 3, Bacharam Chatterjee Lane.
- Chukervertty, Chatterjee & Co., Ltd., 13, College Square.
- Das Gupta & Co., 54/3, College Street.
- Hindu Library, 137-F, Balaram De Street.
- Lahiri & Co., Ltd., Messrs. S. K.
- Macmillan & Co., Ltd., 294, Bow Bazar Street.
- Newman & Co., Ltd., Messrs. W.
- Roy Chowdhury & Co., Messrs. N. M., 72, Harrison Road.
- Sarcar & Sons, Messrs. M. C., 15, College Square.
- Sarkar & Sons, Ltd., Messrs. S. C., 1-1-1c, College Square.
- Thacker, Spink & Co. (1933), Ltd.
- Wheeler & Co., Messrs. A. H.

CUTTACK—Press Officer, Orissa Secretariat.

DEHRA DUN—Ideal Book Depot, Rajpur Road.

DELHI—
- Indian Army Book Depot, Daryaganj.
- Jaina & Bros., Messrs. J. M., Morigate.
- *Oxford Book and Stationery Co.*
- Young Man & Co. (Regd.), Egerton Road.

DEVGAD BARIA—Joshi, Mr. V. G., News Agents (via Piplod).

DUM DUM CANTT.—Bengal Flying Club.*

FEROZEPUR—English Book Depot.

GWALIOR—Jain & Bros., Messrs. M. B., Sarafa Road.

HYDERABAD (DECCAN)—Hyderabad Book Depot, Chaderghat.

KARACHI—
- Aero Stores.
- Standard Bookstall.

KARACHI SADAR—Manager, Sind Government B[illegible] Depot and Record office.

LAHORE—
- Kansil & Co., Messrs. N. C., 9, Commercial Buil[illegible] The Mall.
- Malhotra & Co., Messrs. U. P., Post Box No. 94.
- Minerva Book Shop, Anarkali Street.
- Rama Krishna & Sons, Anarkali.
- Superintendent, Govt. Printing, Punjab.
- University Book Agency, Kacheri Road.

LUCKNOW—Upper India Publishing House, Ltd., Lit[illegible]ture Palace, Aminuddaula Park.

LYALLPORE—Lyall Book Depot.

MADRAS—
- Higginbothams.
- Superintendent, Govt. Press, Mount Road.
- Varadachary & Co., Messrs. P.

MOGA—Army Musketry Stores.

NAGPUR—Superintendent, Govt. Printing, Cen[illegible] Provinces.

NEW DELHI—
- Bhawnani & Sons.
- Delhi and U. P. Flying Club Ltd.*
- Jaina & Bros., Messrs. J. M., Connaught Place.
- Ramesh Book Depot & Stationery Mart, [illegible] Place.
- Saraswati Book Depot, 15, Lady Hardinge Road.

PATNA—Superintendent, Government Printing, P. O. Gulzarbagh.

PATNA CITY—Raghunath Prasad & Sons.

PESHAWAR—
- British Stationery Mart.
- London Book Co. (India), Arbab Road.
- Manager, Govt. Printing & Stationery, N.-W. F[illegible]

PESHAWAR CANTT.—Faqir Chand Marwah.

POONA—
- International Book Service.
- Ram Krishna Bros., Opposite Bishram Bagh.

QUETTA—Standard Bookstall.

RAJKOT—Mohanlal Dossabhai Shah.

RANGOON—Burma Book Club Ltd.

RAWALPINDI—Ray & Sons, Messrs. J., 43, Edwardes Road.

SHILLONG—Superintendent, Assam S[illegible]

SIALKOT CANTT.—Modern Book Depot, [illegible]

SIALKOT CITY—Buckingham & Co., B[illegible] Stationers, Greenwood Street.

TRICHINOPOLY FORT—Krishnaswami & [illegible] S., Teppakulam.

TRIVANDRUM—Booklovers' Resort, Taika[illegible]

VELLORE—Venkatasubban, Mr. A., La[illegible]

* Agents for Publications on Aviation only.

With the outbreak of war in Europe there was a considerable rise in the bazaar prices of the various imported and indigenous articles. With a view to check profiteering the Afghan Government took prompt steps to control prices and set up a commission for this purpose under the Ministry of National Economy on whose recommendation prices were fixed for the principal lines of cotton piecegoods, tea and medicines, and the bazaar dealers were warned not to charge rates higher than those fixed. The provincial Governors were also instructed to take similar steps in the provinces. The commission kept a watch over the dealings in the bazaar and certain traders both in the centre and in the provinces found guilty of contravening the instructions issued in this behalf were punished with fines. That was, however, during the period of temporary nervousness arising out of the outbreak of war and the markets have settled down again thus doing away with the necessity of official interference in such matters.

As stated in Chapter IV of the last year's report, a trade mission from Afghanistan visited India during the winter of 1938-39 to discuss certain trade matters with responsible officials of the Government of India. In pursuance of those discussions and with a view to helping the export trade of India the Government of India sanctioned the grant during the year of a rebate of 50 per cent. of freight charges on consignments of cement and machinery booked from any station on the North-Western Railway to Chaman, Landi Kotal, Peshawar City and Peshawar Cantonment, on production of proof to the effect that consignments had been transported to Afghanistan. This concession led to larger imports of oil machinery of Indian manufacture as also of machinery of foreign origin "not in transit" as will be seen from the relevant tables attached.

A 50 per cent. reduction in railway freight has also been granted on raw cotton from Afghanistan consigned to Karachi for shipment to Liverpool.

The sugar factory at Baghlan will be run on diesel oil and steam while the cotton textile mills at Pul-i-Khumri will be run by hydro-electric power.

It is claimed by the Afghan Government that the experiment of growing cotton in Qatghan area which was started in 1936-37 has proved successful and the following figures of area and yield have been published in this connection :—

Year.	Area cultivated.	Seed scattered per acre.	Yield of cotton per acre.
	Acres.	Lbs.	Lbs.
1936-37	17,000	32	1,120
1937-38	125,000	32	256
1938-39	85,000	64	384
1939-40	59,247	64	736

The above figures present a paradox, inasmuch as the yield per acre in the very first year of the experiment was the highest which fell to less than one-fourth in the next year. Since then the figures show a steady increase. The explanation offered by the Ministry of National Economy and the Afghan National Bank is that in the first year the area brought under cultivation was very small, only 17,000 acres, and it was possible to devote proper attention to the growing of the crop including the use of manure. It was also the virgin soil which contributed largely to the yield of good results. In the second year much too large an area was brought under cultivation and it could not therefore be looked after properly and the results obtained were therefore disastrous. Since then there has been a gradual contraction in the area sown but better yield has been obtained through intensive cultivation.

There are slight discrepancies in the totals but they are immaterial. The figures given are for unginned raw cotton as collected from the cultivators. The Afghan Government have also published a graph showing the quantity of ginned cotton and seed obtained. In the year under review, *i.e.* 1939-40, out of the total quantity of cotton purchased about 7,500 tons cleaned ginned cotton was obtained. Cotton seed amounted to about 18,000 tons and the remaining was dust and other impurities. Prices have been paid to the cultivators at the following rates during the last three years :—

1937-38 3 Afghanis per Kabul seer of 16 lbs.

1938-39 3¼ " " " " " " "

1939-40 { 3¾ " " " " " " " for the first picking up to the middle of November.
3¼ Afghanis per Kabul seer for the second picking in the next one month.
2¾ Afghanis per Kabul seer for the third picking thereafter.

Nearly 75 per cent of the crop is collected in the first picking. With a view to avoiding disputes between the primary producers and the purchasing agencies commissions have been appointed in different localities on which, apart from the representatives of the purchasers, there is one representative each of the Bank and of the people of the locality.

Ginned cotton is now pressed in the hydraulic presses in bales of 170 to 185 kilogrammes measuring 1·25 meters × 0·45 meters × 0·45 meters which has made their transport easier.

In the last year's report it was stated that cotton seed oil was being produced in the factory set up for this purpose at Kundus and was being used for the present in the manufacture of soap and as an illuminant but that it was intended to set up a refinery so that refined oil may be produced for human consumption. It has not been possible to bring this plan into action so far.

With regard to the growing of beet for the production of sugar at Baghlan, certain practical steps are reported to have been taken. Peasants have been taken from other parts of the country to Baghlan valley and settled there. Houses have been built for them and certain takawi loans have also been advanced. In the year under review 1,000 Hectares equal to about 4,000 acres of land had been brought under the cultivation of beet and a yield of 32,000 tons of beet root was expected which is enough to provide 60 days work in the sugar factory.

Of the activities of the Experimental Agricultural Farm at Kundus the following deserve mention in this report :—

(*a*) Seeing that the use of cigarettes in the country is on the increase and with a view to testing the possibility of starting a factory for the manufacture of cigarettes, the Department of Agriculture has carried out certain experiments with the *growing* of tobacco of *golden virginia* variety and the results obtained so far are reported to be satisfactory. If after obtaining expert opinion the tobacco is found to be suitable for the manufacture

80 per cent of the cost of coal. The investigations also showed the presence, in addition to coal, of—

(a) lime-stone suitable for the manufacture of cement;

(b) clay and shale, also used in the manufacture of cement, and glazed tiles;

(c) sand suitable for use in the manufacture of glass;

(d) iron ore deposits.

Dr. Drath has in this connection confirmed the conclusion arrived at earlier by Dr. Fox regarding the suitability of coal from that mine for the manufacture of coke.

As a result of the recommendations made by Dr. Drath, the Ministry of Mines decided that (i) the mining of coal from the Ghorband mine should be abandoned for the present and the staff employed there transferred elsewhere; (ii) an expert commission should be invited from India to conduct a geological survey of the Aish Pushta mine and that briquette-making machinery should be purchased.

In November 1939 the Afghan Government accepted the proposals of the Government of India for a survey of the coalfields of Afghanistan and a party consisting of (a) coal survey, (b) drilling, and (c) plane table in charge of Mr. West arrived from India in March 1940 and entered upon its work immediately.

The Ministry of Mines has also brought under its direct control the collection of salt from the various sources of salt in Herat, Andkhoi and Tashkurghan. At the request of the Ministy of Mines the Government of India sent another commission under the leadership of Mr. Gee of the Geological Survey of India to examine the salt deposits of Afghanistan. This party arrived at Kabul towards the end of March 1940 and left on 10th June 1940. The report of the commission has been supplied to the Afghan Government.

Necessary steps have also been taken by the Ministry of Mines to enquire into the possibility of obtaining other minerals like mica, sulphur, asbestos, tourmaline, etc. A mica mine has been found in the Panjsher valley and sulphur deposits are known to exist at Dasht-i-Sufed and in the Maimana and Mazar districts. Besides, the right of prospecting for metals was granted three years ago to a company composed of Afghans and Germans which is still busy in their work.

The Minister of National Economy of the Afghan Government is reported to have stated in a recent speech that in the year 1311 Shamsi (corresponding to 1932-33), before the present schemes of economic developments were brought into action, the customs revenue of the Afghan Government was less than 4 crores of Afghanis, whereas in the year under review it exceeded 8 crores and that a further increase of 22 to 25 per cent over the latter figure was expected in the next year.

(b) setting up two new companies named Shirkat-i-Sabir and Shirkat-i-Aziz with an aggregate capital of 6 million Afghanis. These shirkats have been engaged in the import and sale of cloth and other merchandise.

The Chamber has also advanced certain sums to the Department of Industries for giving takawi loans to weavers of the country. It has also given a loan for the setting up of a carpet weaving factory in Kabul. A commercial school has also been started in the centre at the joint expense of the Chamber and the Afghan National Bank.

In connection with the constitution of the Central Chamber and various Provincial Chambers the Ministry of National Economy consulted this Agency with regard to the rules and regulations of the various Chambers of Commerce and Trade Associations in India and the scope of their activities in the direction of improvement of agriculture, education, industries, etc. Accordingly the rules and regulations and memoranda of association of a few important chambers in India were obtained and furnished to the Ministry. The Ministry was told that these chambers had been established with the object of promoting and directing the trade, commerce and manufactures of India including shipping, transport, banking and insurance. They also included among their objects the encouragement of decisions by arbitration of disputes arising out of commercial transactions. The rules of a few chambers also provided for the promotion and advancement of commercial and technical education.

CHAPTER V.

Foreign Trade of Afghanistan.

A.—*Balance of Trade.*

No regular statistics of the foreign trade of Afghanistan are published by the Afghan Government. Certain statements of imports and exports made by the shirkats or joint stock companies of Afghanistan are however contained in the latest issue of the *Almanach de Kaboul.* These statements relate to the years 1316 and 1317 Shamsi (corresponding to the years 1937-38 and 1938-39) and include trade with all countries including Russia. These are reproduced in appendix 'E' to this report. Shirkat-i-Ittehadia Shimali and Shirkat-i-Ittehadia Herat work in the localities bordering on Russia and it is therefore presumed that their trade was carried on almost exclusively with that country.

The imports from all sources of sugar and petrol which are the monopoly of the Afghan Sugar Syndicate are also given in the *Almanach* and from these the following information with regard to the imports from Russia is available :—

Sugar.

—		1937-38 12 months.	1938-39 12 months.	1939 9 months, April to December.
Total imports from all sources—				
Sugar	Tons	15,197	9,343	13,367
Cube sugar and sugar candy	„	3,848	3,631	1,396
Imports across the Indo-Afghan Frontier—				
From India	Cwts.	3,067	2,393	37
From other countries .	„	195,203	85,066	201,511
Total .	„	198,270	87,459	201,548
	Tons	9,913·5	4,372·9	10,077·4
Imports from Russia only—				
Sugar	Tons	5,283	4,970	3,290
Cube sugar and sugar candy	„	3,848	3,631	1,396

It will be seen that the visible balance of trade in merchandise in favour of Afghanistan has increased from Rs. 34 lakhs (Indian currency) in the year 1938-39 to Rs. 128 lakhs (Indian currency) in 1939-40. While there has been an increase of Rs. 54 lakhs (or 25 per cent) in the imports during the year under review over the figures of the preceding year, the exports from Afghanistan have gone up by Rs. 148 lakhs (Indian currency) or nearly 60 per cent. This large increase in exports is due mainly to larger exports of Persian lamb skins, one of the main items of export from Afghanistan.

Figures of treasure which are not included in the above calculations relating to the balance of trade are given below :—

	1938-39.	1939-40.
	Rs.	Rs.
Imports of treasure (gold) into Afghanistan .	281	..
Exports of treasure (silver) from Afghanistan .	9,504	16,655
Balance of transactions in treasure .	+9,223	+16,655

As stated in the preceding year's report, statistics of trade registered across the Indo-Afghan Frontier do not show the destination of Afghan exports. Persian lamb skins, a chief item of exports from Afghanistan, used to go previously to the United Kingdom and Germany. Due, however, to the outbreak of war and consequent dislocation of markets, a considerable number of these skins was sent to America, during the latter half of the year under review, where they fetched good prices. Nearly one-third of the total off-take of Persian lamb skins from Afghanistan was sold locally to the agents of American buyers.

The exports of Persian lamb skins from Afghanistan across the Indo-Afghan Frontier during the last three years have according to the Indo-Trade Statistics been as under :—

	Quantity.	Value.
	Pieces.	Rs. (Indian).
1937-38	1,373,710	2,31,13,046
1938-39	676,133	1,03,55,068
1939-40	1,713,792	2,45,58,993

The exports in the latter half of the year under review, that is to say after the outbreak of war showed a cent per cent increase over the figures of the first half year. Practically nothing is retained in India from these exports, which find their way abroad almost entirely. The American market offered a welcome opening for a luxury article whose chances of disposal in the United Kingdom and Germany had become gloomy on account of the war, and thus placed the Afghan National Bank in possession of the much needed foreign exchange. Certain figures of sales of Persian lamb skins both in Kabul and in America and England published by the Afghan Government are reproduced in appendix 'F'. These figures do not however agree with those recorded in the Indo-Afghan Trade Statistics and are given for what they are worth.

The next important item of exports from Afghanistan is "fruits, nuts and vegetables". The exports under this head showed a decline from Rs. 1,06,28,464 in the year 1938-39 to Rs. 88,56,672 in the year under review

year ; Iran Rs. 15,05,365 against Rs. 1,49,262 ; the United States of America Rs. 14,79,031 against Rs. 6,97,809 and Burma Rs. 14,33,979 against Rs. 21,39,077.

A detailed account of the trade with India is given in the succeeding chapter.

By far the most important article of import from Japan is cotton manufactures including cotton piecegoods which accounted for 79 per cent of the total imports from that country. The other important articles of import from Japan are silk and artificial silk piecegoods, green tea, woollen manufactures and glassware and china. As remarked in the previous year's report Japan takes practically nothing from Afghanistan in return for her supplies of goods to this country.

Of the total imports from the United Kingdom amounting in value Rs. 22,47,171 machinery and millwork alone accounted for Rs. 14,59,328 65 per cent. In the preceding year the United Kingdom had sent Rs. 72,211 worth of goods under this head. Increases have also occurre under apparel, chemicals, dyeing materials, instruments, apparatus appliances, manufactures of brass and copper, woollen goods and tobacc On the other hand, the imports under cotton and silk manufactures, pro visions, paper, leather, hardware and drugs, medicines and perfumery registered some small decreases.

The imports from Germany have fallen from Rs. 37,19,101 in the y 1938-39 to Rs. 17,83,299 in the year under review, but as will be seen the figures given below the fall has not been greater in the last six mont of the year after the outbreak of war than in the first six months :—

Imports from Germany during the year 1939-40.

Articles.	During the first half year April to September, 1939.	During second ha year Octo ber, 1939 March, 1C
	Rs.	Rs.
Chemicals	29,581	7[illegible]
Drugs, medicines and perfumery	18,226	35,[illegible]
Dyeing material	26,618	15,10
Hardware and cutlery	47,722	7,[illegible]
Instruments, apparatus and appliances	1,32,541	36,[illegible]
Machinery and millwork	4,88,072	4,51,[illegible]
Metals and manufactures of metals—		
(i) Brass, copper and manufactures thereof	68,971	23,[illegible]
(ii) Iron and steel	47,211	1,27,[illegible]
All other articles of merchandise	1,89,743	37,[illegible]
Total	10,48,685	7,34,[illegible]

The principal articles of supply from China are tea (green), cotton piecegoods and other manufactures of cotton and of silk.

Czechoslovakia.—Supplied to Afghanistan goods worth Rs. 7,06,258 against Rs. 4,95,218 in the preceding year, the principal article of supply being machinery, the value of which in the year under report amounted to Rs. 5,22,602 or 75 per cent of the total imports from that country. The other items of import from Czechoslovakia are hardware and other iron and steel material (Rs. 1,01,810) and instruments, apparatus and appliances (Rs. 59,683).

Italy.—Italy improved her position considerably by supplying goods worth Rs. 5,45,254 as against Rs. 1,18,337 in the preceding year. The principal articles of supply from Italy have been machinery and millwork (Rs. 1,67,766), grain and pulse (Rs. 70,609), woollen goods (Rs. 56,841), hardware and other iron and steel material (Rs. 49,071), chemicals (Rs. 45,816), motor cars (Rs. 45,637), silk manufactures (Rs. 39,610) and cotton piecegoods (Rs. 22,190). As stated in the previous year's report, in addition to these imports of merchandise, there may have been imports from Italy of arms and munitions and other war material but they do not find a mention in the trade returns.

Cement.—An improvement in the import of cement from India was recorded in the last year's report. This year has shown further improvements as will be seen from the figures given below :—

Year.	Quantity imported.	Value.
	Tons.	Rs.
1937-38	2,330	1,23,430
1938-39	3,316	1,59,323
1939-40	7,230	3,80,231

There were no imports of this article from other countries across the Indo-Afghan Frontier, nor does Russia appear to have sent cement across the Russo-Afghan Frontier. The imports are entirely by the Afghan Government or the Afghan National Bank. The building of factories is in full swing at present and the repairs to roads and bridges and construction of certain hydro-electric works and irrigation works are in hand. The consumption of cement is likely to increase in the future. It may be remarked that in the Trade Agreement concluded in July, 1940, between the Afghan National Bank and the Russian organisation known as Vistok Entorg, the latter has undertaken to supply to Afghanistan 3,000 tons of cement during the 12 months period of the Agreement. Cement is, however, a heavy article and the transport charges will not permit its economic use outside a certain zone. Russian cement can be used profitably in Northern Afghanistan and in Herat area and the demand for Indian cement will therefore continue unabated in the Eastern and Southern parts of the country.

Chemicals.—Chemicals worth Rs. 1,14,902 were imported into Afghanistan from all sources in the year under review as compared to Rs. 19,160 in the preceding year. Out of this India supplied a negligible quantity worth Rs. 3,613 only. Imports worth Rs. 77,007 were on Government account, that is as "State goods" and Italy and Germany were the main suppliers with a small quantity worth 8,945 only from the United Kingdom. Presumably these imports were of gun powder and other chemicals used in the Government Arsenal, Kabul.

Drugs, Medicines and Perfumery.—India supplied these articles to the value of Rs. 68,548 in the year under review against Rs. 37,280 in the preceding year. Though India has improved her position considerably among the supplying countries having supplied 31 per cent. of the total requirements of Afghanistan against less than 13 per cent. in the preceding year, the bulk of the imports under this head is still derived from foreign sources. In the year under review Germany's share was 25 per cent. as against 45 per cent. in the preceding year; the United Kingdom's 10 per cent. against 21 per cent. and the United States of America's 8 per cent. against 2 per cent. last year. There are also imports of perfumery and scents from Russia but their precise extent is not known. Owing to the outbreak of war and the cessation of imports from Germany through India that country has sent small quantities of drugs and medicines through Russia but figures of such imports are not available.

Dyeing materials.—India sent dyeing materials to Afghanistan to the value of Rs. 21,270 and other foreign countries Rs. 1,17,987 in the year

Rs. 9,39,544 against Rs. 12,68,542 in the last year. Imports from Germany ceased entirely in the last 3 months of the year under report. The United States of America just maintained its position and Czechoslovakia and Italy improved theirs considerably.

Vegetable Oils.—The imports of vegetable oils from India have shown some improvement in the year under review as will be seen from the following figures :—

Year.	Imports from India.	Imports from other countries.	Total.
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
1937-38	9,647	449	10,096
1938-39	2,166	1,578	3,744
1939-40	10,899	2,075	12,974

Imports from other countries are small and unimportant. In spite of the local production of cotton seed oil at Kunduz, which is being used in soap manufacture and for which other uses are also contemplated, Afghanistan still finds it necessary to import vegetable oils from India and other countries.

Paper.—The imports of paper from India have shown a big increase from Rs. 39,268 worth in the previous year to Rs. 1,29,695 in the year under review. Imports from other countries during the two years have been Rs. 60,297 and Rs, 64,240, respectively. Owing to the outbreak of war the imports of paper from foreign countries practically ceased and India has therefore become the principal supplier of this article to Afghanistan.

Provisions.—This item includes bottled and tinned provisions and confectionery. Consequent upon the outbreak of war and the shortage of supplies of imported goods re-exported to Afghanistan under draw-back of duty, the imports of provisions from India have shown a cent per cent increase over the figures of the preceding year. It is the upper classes and Europeans in this country who generally consume tinned and bottled provisions and they demand articles of high quality in decent containers. There is not much demand for pickles and other preserves in mustard oil. In spite of the best efforts made by this office it has not been possible to secure any orders to a British Indian firm of Calcutta who had supplied samples of pickles, preserves, jellies, jams and chutneys.

Salt.—Salt is being obtained from local sources in abundant quantities and therefore the demand for Indian salt which though whiter and purer than the indigenous product, is falling steadily.

Spices.—Under this head are imported turmeric, chillies, etc. The total imports of spices into Afghanistan during the last 3 years and the share of

—	1937-38	1938-39	1939-40
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
Green Tea :—			
Imports from India	2,64,161	2,79,436	6,70,954
" " China	5,16,670	3,30,062	2,61,576
" " Japan	4,42,590	6,52,051	3,57,280
Total	12,23,421	12,61,549	12,89,810

The above figures speak for themselves. In addition there have been small imports of foreign teas *not in transit.* India has not only improved her exports of black tea of which she is the sole supplier to Afghanistan but has also secured a predominant share in the supply of green tea at the cost of the other two rivals, China and Japan. As stated in the last year's report the tea trade is entirely in the hands of Indian firms who have branches in China and Japan. Though the figures of imports of tea from all sources do not show any appreciable increase in the consumption of this article in this country, there are possibilities of steady increase with the development of industrialization of the country which is being pushed with all the vigour. Complete information with regard to the tariff treatment of tea in this country was given in the last year's report. It has undergone no change so far.

Cotton Textiles.—This is the most important single item of imports from India. The total imports of cotton piecegoods and other manufactures of cotton from all sources and the share of the principal supplying countries are given below :—

—	1937-38. Rs. (000).	1938-39. Rs. (000).	1939-40. Rs. (000).
Imports from Japan	47,02	41,72	50,90
" " India	28,25	26,31	32,39
" " the United Kingdom	2,91	2,16	1,98
" " all other countries	1,11	1,01	1,45
TOTAL IMPORTS	79,29	71,20	86,72

Complete figures of imports of cotton piecegoods only are not available separately in respect of each supplying country. From such information

Japan is the main important source of supply which nearly doubled its supply in the year under review as compared to the previous year. India also sent nearly three times as much as in the preceding year. China has suddenly come into the market with a share of Rs. 88,406 out of the total imports of Rs. 9,92,784 or ·9 per cent as against the negligible figure of Rs. 98 in the preceding year. These imports from China seem to be from the Japanese mills in occupied territory.

Wool manufactures.—The total imports under this head and the share of each principal supplying country have been as below :—

Imports from	1938-39.	1939-40.
	Rs.	Rs.
United Kingdom	48,971	60,851
Germany	41,395	13,083
Italy	41,602	56,841
Japan	19,655	45,067
India	1,762	9,934
Other countries	27,142	22,489
TOTAL	1,80,527	2,09,165

United Kingdom still holds the first position and has increased her share by 25 per cent. Italy and Japan which hold the 2nd and 3rd position, respectively, have also improved their shares. India's share in this item is negligible. Afghanistan with its abundant supply of raw material is herself an exporter of wool manufactures like carpets and rugs. The imports consist mainly of finer woollen fabrics used by the richer classes and of shoddy blankets from Italy. Her efforts to produce finer stuff have not borne any fruit yet. The Government woollen factory at Kandahar, which though not equipped with the necessary machinery for the production of finer woollen goods, has not yet started working.

Tobacco, manufactured.—The imports under this head have shown no variation from the figures of the preceding year. The principal suppliers are the United Kingdom and India, which have just maintained their position. This does not however mean that the demand for cigarettes and other imported tobacco has become inelastic. In the first six months of the year cheap Russian cigarettes were found in abundance in the market but since the middle of the year Iranian cigarettes are being imported in large quantities and are commanding a ready sale. These cigarettes are the product of Government monopoly factories in Iran.

Silk and cotton piecegoods.—A firm from Delhi desired to be furnished with the names of important importers in Afghanistan of silk and cotton piecegoods, paper, sugar, tea, leather, chemicals and pharmaceutical products. Enquiries were made and the required information was furnished to the firm through the Director-General of Commercial Intelligence and Statistics, Calcutta. Later on the same firm asked for the names of the principal importers of nickel and silver plated brassware, cardboards, bookbinding and tracing cloth, vegetable products and sanitary earthenware and pipe fittings. This information was also duly furnished.

Cotton Yarn.—An Indian manufacturing firm asked for the names and addresses of firms dealing in cotton yarn as also information regarding the prospects of business in this country. Investigations were made and necessary information was furnished to the enquirer through the Director-General.

Tea, Black.—A British Indian firm of Kabul asked to be put in touch with an important tea concern in India for taking up their business in this country on agency terms. A representative of the latter visited Kabul in this connection. He was introduced to several local traders who import tea into Afghanistan and as a result of the investigations carried out by him the firm recommended by this office has been granted the agency for the distribution of the particular brand throughout Afghanistan. The tea concern in India is well-satisfied with the work of the agency firm.

Another British Indian firm of Kabul asked to be introduced to some Indian exporters of high grade Indian teas. The enquiry was sent to the Director-General of Commercial Intelligence and Statistics who was requested to ask the firms likely to be interested in the matter to enter into direct correspondence with the Kabul merchant.

Tea, Green.—A firm from Jalpaiguri wanted to be put in touch with some merchants in Kabul who imported Indian green tea. The names of several importers were communicated to the enquirer for direct correspondence.

Samples of green tea were also received from a big firm of tea distributors in India and were distributed to the importing firms in this country.

Sugar.—At an interview in June, 1939, the President of the Afghan Sugar Syndicate which holds the monopoly for the purchase and import of sugar into Afghanistan, enquired whether India could supply sugar at competitive rates with Java from which the bulk of Afghanistan's requirements was being obtained. The enquiry was passed on to the Director-General who in turn addressed the Indian Sugar Mills Association and the Indian Sugar Syndicate. These two bodies expressed their inability to cater for the Afghan market due to various reasons including successive short crops, etc. Later on in January, 1940, His Excellency the Minister of National Economy enquired whether Indian sugar was cheaper and suggested that, if it was, the Afghan Government might be prepared to buy 10,000 tons. Enquiries were made of the Indian Sugar Syndicate and certain sugar mills in India and the Ministry of National Economy was informed of the replies received. As a result of these negotiations the Ministry accepted the offer of the Indian Sugar Syndicate to sell Indian sugar equal in quality to Java sugar and in competition with that sugar f.o.r. Peshawar. Later on an order was placed with one of the Indian sugar mills for 500 tons of sugar.

Perfumery.—A firm from Kanauj was furnished with the names of some firms which deal in perfumery and toilet requisities in Kabul and Kandahar.

Coal and Coke.—An Indian firm which deals in Bengal coal and coke wanted to be put in touch with some reliable consumers who consume coal and foundry coke for their works. There being no private works or foundries in this country, the names of various Government Departments which consume coal and coke were communicated to the enquirer through the Director-General.

Sanitary fittings, etc.—Some Indian firms dealing in sanitary fittings and appliances and other hardware materials desired to be put in touch with some reliable firms and Government Departments which may be interested in importing such articles. The required information was furnished to the firm through the Director-General.

Oils.—An Afghan firm wanted to know the names of some firms in India from whom medicinal oils like Castor Oil and Cod Liver Oil could be purchased. The Director-General was addressed in the matter and after obtaining the necessary information the enquirer was put in touch with the Indian firms.

Hardware.—The President of the Government Purchase Office, Kabul, desired to be furnished with quotations and other particulars about man-hole covers and other hardware materials required by the Kabul Municipal Administration. Extensive enquiries were made through the Director-General of Commercial Intelligence and Statistics and the required information was furnished to the Purchase Office.

Glass Bottles.—The President of the Government Purchase Office, Kabul, placed an order for the supply from India, of empty glass bottles worth Rs. 424-8-0. to the Ministry of Health of the Afghan Government. The order was passed on through the Director-General to the Indian manufacturer whose sample bottles had been seen and approved by the Ministry of Health previously.

Leather.—At the request of an Afghan merchant samples of cheap chrome leather and quotations therefor were obtained from a number of firms in India and furnished to him.

The Director-General of Afghan Government factories in Kabul approached this Agency in connection with the purchase of a large quantity of sole leather required for use in Military boots. The enquiry was circulated to several exporters of leather in India through the Director-General of Commercial Intelligence and Statistics and the samples and quotations received from them were passed on to the enquirer. Certain Indian firms also addressed the official direct. Eventually, however, it appears that instead of ordering the supply direct from India the contract was given to a British-Indian trader of Kabul for the supply of 750 maunds of tanned leather and an equal quantity of inferior black chrome leather. He was rendered all possible assistance in this connection and he purchased his requirements from the Amritsar and Sialkot Districts and from Calcutta.

Leather Goods.—A firm from Cawnpore desired to be furnished with particulars of some of the materials supplied to the Afghan military forces. It also wanted to know the names of some contractors and dealers in leather

VIII.

MISCELLANEOUS.

I.—*Shirkats.*

In the report for the year 1937-38 a list was given of the various monopoly companies or Shirkats, trade combines and Government suppliers together with a brief description of their functions. In the report for 1938-39 a statement was published of the changes that had been made in the constitution of some of these companies. It will be useful if a complete and up-to-date list of the various monopoly and joint stock concerns operating in Afghanistan is given and it is as follows :—

A.—*Banks.*

(1) *The Afghanistan Bank or Government Treasury.*—In the year under review the work of purchase and sale of gold has been transferred to the Treasury from the Afghan National Bank. Transactions in gold and silver by other bodies or persons are prohibited.

(2) *The Afghan National Bank.*—This started in the year 1930 with a capital of 5 million Afghanis only under the name of Shirkat-i-Ashami. After two years its name was changed to Afghan National Bank and capital increased to 35 million Afghanis which has been increased from time to time and stood at 60 million Afghanis in the year 1937-38. Currency notes were introduced in the year 1934. The activities of the Bank fall under the following three main heads :—

(i) control of foreign exchange and stabilization of the currency of the country ;

(ii) control of the foreign trade of the country ;

(iii) protection to existing industries and development of new industries and agriculture.

In foreign countries it has branches in London, Berlin, Peshawar Karachi and Chaman and a representative in New York. Branches in the country are at Kandahar, Herat, Mazar-i-Sharif, Andkhoi and Maimana. According to a report published by the Afghan Government, paper currency in circulation amounting in value to 20 million Afghanis at the end of the year 1936 increased to 180 million Afghanis by the end of the year 1939. The Bank has a controlling interest in the various Shirkats and monopoly companies whose aggregate capital now amounts to 340 million Afghanis. A press report of a recent speech of the Trade Minister made at the opening of the Sugar factory at Baghlan put this figure at 710 million Afghanis. These companies work under the general supervision and direction of the Bank.

B.—*Shirkats holding monopolies of import, export anc ... of cert... articles.*

(1) *Monopoly of export of Persi... lamb skins.* ...ie year's report, the business of ex... ersian lamb ...t

shortly and will start working by the middle of the year 1941. As stated in Chapter II, a five years programme of expansion of the cotton mill at Pul-i-Khumri is contemplated and it is anticipated that the capital of the company will, during that period, be increased to 220 million Afghanis with the consequent increase in output. A part of the capital of the company is being raised by the levy of a surcharge of 10 per cent on the amount of export duty collected on the exports from the country of all articles excepting Karakul skins and raw cotton. This surcharge is being collected from all exporters including Indian traders and each exporter has been promised the allotment of a share of the company on the completion of every 1,000 Afghanis. This seems to be the only departure from the rule in force prohibiting foreigners from holding shares in Afghan companies.

(2) *Shirkat-i-Ittihadia, Shimali*; (3) *Shirkat-i-Ittihadia, Herat*, (4) *Shirkat-i-Wattan, Kandahar.*—In order to place the trade with Russia on an organized footing these three joint stock companies were formed at the time of the conclusion of the Agreement of 1936 between the Afghan National Bank and the Russian organization known as Sovafghantorg. The first named was entrusted with the work of exports of raw cotton and wool; the second with that of wool and karakul skins, and the third, wool and cotton.

The work of exports of raw cotton from the Northern Provinces was later on taken away from the Shirkat-i-Ittihadia Shimali and given to the Afghanistan Cotton Company. The three companies mentioned above do not hold any monopoly for the export of raw wool and nominally this trade is free but in actual practice these companies are the only large buyers of wool from the primary producers so that it becomes difficult for the small traders to work otherwise than in co-operation with these companies. The sale of wool belonging to these companies to foreign buyers has generally been made by the Afghan National Bank on their behalf.

(5) *Shirkat-i-Pushtun, Kandahar.*—This company has been in existence for the last six or seven years and has a factory for preparing sweets, fruit preserves and syrups. It also exports dried fruit after cleaning and packing in suitable containers. It is understood that several thousand bottles and tins of its products have been sold in India during the year under review.

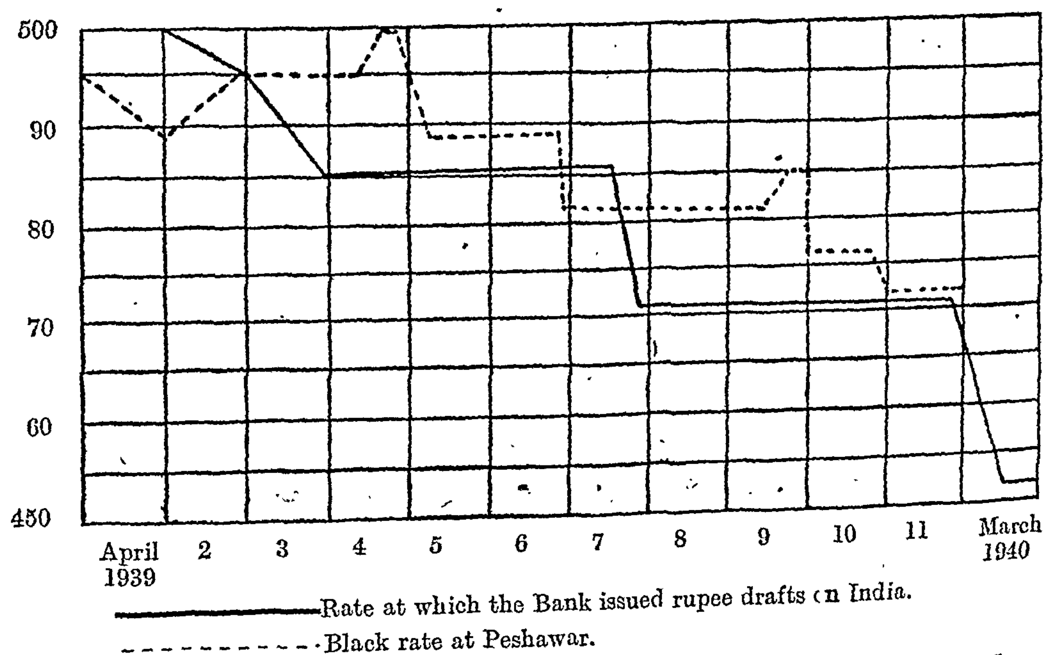
II.—Transport.

A mention was made in the last year's report of the opening to traffic of the new Lattaband Section of the Peshawar-Kabul Road which had shortened the distance by 9 miles. This section however involves somewhat steep climbs and sharp bends and to avoid these a new road *via* Tang-i-Gharu and Draunta to Jalalabad is being constructed. Some progress is stated to have been made with it but it is not known when this road will be completed.

Transport charges in Afghanistan for various kinds of merchandise are given in Appendix G.

than Kabul. There is, for instance, no restriction on the exchange of money in the bazaars at Kandahar, Herat, Ghazni and Jalalabad, and no drafts are taken by the importers from the Bank which has branches at the first-mentioned two places. There has been no diversion of trade worth the name from the Peshawar route to the Chaman and Kandahar route on account of this absence of exchange control on the Kandahar side, because the Hadquarters office of the Bank at Kabul has always kept this point in view and fixed the rate for the issue of drafts on India at a level which has slightly favoured Kabul merchants. During the period when the Bank has temporarily stopped issuing drafts on India some uneasiness has been felt by the Kabul importers but they have not resorted to any appreciable extent to the import of goods *via* Kandahar as in that case they are unable to satisfy the Import Control Section of the Bank located at the Custom House, Kabul, which requires the importers to satisfy it before the goods are released, as to how the foreign exchange for payment for the goods was obtained. As stated elsewhere in this report, the Afghan National Bank has claimed that during the year under review the value of the Afghani in terms of the Indian rupee has improved by 15 per cent. In this connection the Bank has published a graph for year 1318 Shamsi (corresponding to the year 1939-40) which is reproduced below :—

Graph showing the rate-Afghanis per Rs. 100 (Indian) at which the Afghan National Bank issued drafts on India and the "black rate" prevailing at Peshawar during the year 1939-40.



No reliable figures of the rates at which the Bank issued drafts to traders from time to time in the preceding year are available. From such information however, as this office has been able to collect, it appears that the Afghan currency crisis occurred in December 1937 when the Afghan Government prohibited the sale of foreign currency for imports other than those on

CHAPTER X.

PUBLICITY.

A useful collection of Indian commercial journals, statistical publications, other books and newspapers is maintained at this Agency and visitors have frequently consulted them in the course of the year under review. To enable this office to answer enquiries from the Afghan National Bank and the local trading community with regard to railway freight charges on articles of import and export, railway tariff publications have been obtained and added to the collection. It is now proposed to attach a properly furnished reading room to this office supplied with trade journals and other commercial publications and books of reference as well as with newspapers and periodicals for the use of traders and other interested persons.

Through the courtesy of certain Indian manufacturers we have now in our show room samples of Indian production but the collection is still so modest that a display of these samples cannot successfully be arranged at the fair held annually in Kabul in commemoration of the independence of the country.

The show room has during the year under review been visited by a fairly large number of officials and non-officials and introductions have been arranged with Indian manufacturers after these visits.

This Agency has now become well-known in official and commercial circles and is being freely consulted by Government Departments and merchants alike in the matter of obtaining their requirements from India. It is however occasionally found that owing to the outbreak of war and the consequent necessity of providing her own growing needs first certain goods like woollen manufactures, medicines, newsprint, etc., have been unavailable from India.

APPENDIX B.

Imports into Afghanistan of Indian goods across the Indo-Afghan Frontier.

Articles.	1938-39.	1939-40.	Variations (+) Increase (—) Decrease.
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
Animals, Living	7,92,297	10,75,962	+2,83,665
Apparel excluding Boots and Shoes	42,687	55,346	+12,659
Belting for Machinery	422	2,077	+1,655
Boots and Shoes	1,70,121	2,33,688	+63,567
Cement	1,59,323	3,80,231	+2,20,908
Building materials other than cement	926	83	—843
Chemicals	3,169	3,613	+444
Cordage and Rope including Newar	11,618	4,829	—6,789
Drugs, Medicines and Perfumery	37,280	68,548	+31,268
Dyeing Materials	6,606	21,270	+14,664
Fruits, Vegetables and Nuts	4,117	6,218	+2,101
Glass and Glassware	21,425	37,437	+16,012
Grain and Pulse	16,135	13,373	—2,762
Hardware and Cutlery	6,733	15,908	+9,175
Hides and Skins, raw	650	..	—650
Instruments, apparatus, appliances and parts thereof	559	11,679	+11,120
Leather—			
(i) Hides and skins, tanned or dressed	1,50,063	1,86,781	+36,718
(ii) Other manufactures of leather excluding Boots and Shoes	17,382	23,889	+6,507
Liquors	105	173	+68
Machinery and Millwork	3,213	27,986	+24,773
Matches	5,741	40,830	+35,089
Metals and Manufactures of Metals—			
(i) Brass and copper and manufactures thereof	4,322	9,622	+5,300
(ii) Iron and Steel	90,351	1,75,128	+84,777

APPENDIX C.

A.—Imports into Afghanistan of Foreign Goods in Transit through India.

Articles and Countries.	1938-39.	1939-40.	Variations (+) Increase (—) Decrease.
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
Apparel excluding Boots and Shoes—			
United Kingdom	12,473	24,649	+12,176
Poland	128	..	—128
Germany	9,431	9,374	—57
Netherlands	695	2,509	+1,814
Belgium	210	1,098	+888
France	12,557	13,212	+655
Czechoslovakia	479	..	—479
Iraq	278	..	—278
Japan	41,060	23,506	—17,554
U. S. A.	47,018	79,024	+32,006
China	..	246	+246
TOTAL .	1,24,329	1,53,618	+29,289
Boots and Shoes—			
United Kingdom	710	1,706	+996
Germany	..	1,457	+1,457
Czechoslovakia	7,388	5,390	—1,998
China	105	125	+20
Japan	4,185	2,571	—1,614
France	21	..	—21
U. S. A.	150	..	—150
Italy	...	745	+745
TOTAL .	12,559	11,994	—565

APPENDIX C—*contd.*

*A.—Imports into Afghanistan of Foreign Goods in Transit through India—*contd.

Articles and Countries.	1938-39.	1939-40.	Variations (+) Increase (—) Decrease.
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
Drugs, Medicines and Perfumery—*contd.*			
Belgium	120	122	+2
France	3,256	1,395	—1,861
Spain	767	..	—767
Switzerland	2,813	2,079	—734
Italy	2,417	887	—1,530
Austria	150	..	—150
Czechoslovakia	159	140	—19
Turkey	1,180	..	—1,180
Arabia	225	..	—225
China	234	151	—83
Japan	6,301	6,623	+322
U. S. A.	7,430	17,696	+10,266
Poland	..	112	+112
TOTAL	2,20,906	1,04,084	—1,16,822
Dyeing Materials—			
United Kingdom	7,907	21,389	+13,482
Italy	204	..	—204
Spain	..	2,559	+2,559
Netherlands	..	121	+121
Germany	36,622	41,722	+5,100
Switzerland	..	3,738	+3,738
Belgium	524	176	—348
France	..	526	+526

APPENDIX C—*contd.*

A.—Imports into Afghanistan of Foreign Goods in Transit through India—contd.

Articles and Countries.	1938-39.	1939-40.	Variations (+) Increase (—) Decrease.
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
Grain and Pulse—			
United Kingdom	..	77	+77
U. S. A.	13,424	..	—13,424
Germany	208	231	+23
Italy	..	70,609	+70,609
TOTAL .	13,632	70,917	+57,285
Hardware and other iron and steel materials—			
United Kingdom	17,195	15,386	—1,809
Germany	5,54,850	2,33,238	—3,21,612
Belgium	1,47,253	89,856	—57,397
Czechoslovakia	41,119	1,11,810	+70,691
Japan	20,791	18,615	—2,176
Finland	536	1,486	+950
Sweden	4,904	10,182	+5,278
Poland	20,331	3,104	—17,227
Italy	4,610	49,071	+44,461
Hungary	9,147	6,608	—2,539
Austria	1,996	242	—1,754
U. S. A.	4,255	10,092	+5,837
Denmark	1,319	2,549	+1,230
Straits Settlements	1,998	269	—1,729
France	3,149	9,143	+5,994
Hong Kong	351	838	+487
Siam	857	..	—857

APPENDIX C—*contd.*

A.—*Imports into Afghanistan of Foreign Goods in Transit through India*—contd.

Articles and Countries.	1938-39.	1939-40.	Variations (+) Increase (—) Decrease.
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
Instruments, Apparatus, Appliances and parts thereof—*contd.*			
Switzerland	..	3,006	+3,006
*	..	1,629	+1,629
TOTAL	3,31,350	3,99,977	+68,627
Leather—			
Germany	814	92	—722
United Kingdom	5,176	301	—4,875
Netherlands	164	..	—164
Japan	239	495	+256
TOTAL	6,393	888	—5,505
Liquors—			
United Kingdom	2,366	2,691	+325
British West India Islands	..	240	+240
Sweden	36	..	—36
Denmark	36	72	+36
Germany	1,661	1,170	—491
Netherlands	..	24	+24
France	675	663	—12
Spain	204	162	—42
Italy	657	867	+210
Iran	200	..	—200
U. S. A.	30	..	—30
Burma	..	2,312	+2,312
TOTAL	5,865	8,201	+2,336

APPENDIX C—*contd.*

A.—*Imports into Afghanistan of Foreign Goods in transit through India*—contd.

Articles and Countries.	1938-39.	1939-40.	Variations (+) Increase (—) Decrease.
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
Motor Spirit—			
United Kingdom	..	22	+22
Burma	21,34,614	14,27,320	—7,07,294
Bahrein Islands	..	54,402	+54,402
Germany	455	1,060	+605
Iran	77,845	14,39,504	+13,61,659
United States of America	61,073	45,706	—15,367
TOTAL	22,73,987	29,68,074	+6,94,087
Kerosine Oil—			
Burma	4,463	4,347	—116
Bahrein Islands	8,550	32,574	+24,024
U. S. S. R.	575	..	—575
Iran	71,217	65,661	—5,556
Sumatra	5,742	..	—5,742
United States of America	75	—	—75
TOTAL	90,622	[illegible]	—[illegible]
Vegetable Oils—			
TOTAL	533	1,995	+1,462
Paper—			
United Kingdom	[illegible]	[illegible]	—[illegible]
Germany	2,064	[illegible]	—[illegible]
Norway	[illegible]	[illegible]	—[illegible]

APPENDIX C—*contd.*

A.—*Imports into Afghanistan of Foreign Goods in transit through India*—contd.

Articles and Countries.	1938-39.	1939-40.	Variations (+) Increase (—) Decrease.
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
Motor Spirit—			
United Kingdom	..	22	+22
Burma	21,34,614	14,27,320	—7,07,294
Bahrein Islands	..	54,402	+54,402
Germany	455	1,060	+605
Iran	77,845	14,39,504	+13,61,659
United States of America	61,073	45,766	—15,307
TOTAL	22,73,987	29,68,074	+6,94,087
Kerosine Oil—			
Burma	4,463	4,347	—116
Bahrein Islands	8,550	32,574	+24,024
U. S. S. R.	575	..	—575
Iran	71,217	65,861	—5,356
Sumatra	5,742	..	—5,742
United States of America	75	..	—75
TOTAL	90,622	1,02,782	+12,160
Vegetable Oils— TOTAL	533	1,995	+1,462
Paper—			
United Kingdom	11,893	7,629	—4,264
Germany	3,064	17,249	+14,185
Norway	11,319	565	—10,754

APPENDIX C—*contd.*

A.—*Imports into Afghanistan of Foreign Goods in transit through India*—contd.

Articles and Countries.	1938-39.	1939-40.	Variations (+) Increase (—) Decrease.
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
Motor Spirit—			
United Kingdom	..	22	+22
Burma	21,34,614	14,27,320	—7,07,294
Bahrein Islands	..	54,402	+54,402
Germany	455	1,060	+605
Iran	77,845	14,39,504	+13,61,659
United States of America . . .	61,073	45,766	—15,307
TOTAL .	22,73,987	29,68,074	+6,94,087
Kerosine Oil—			
Burma	4,463	4,347	—116
Bahrein Islands	8,550	32,574	+24,024
U. S. S. R.	575	..	—575
Iran	71,217	65,861	—5,356
Sumatra	5,742	..	—5,742
United States of America . . .	75	..	—75
TOTAL .	90,622	1,02,782	+12,160
table Oils— TOTAL .	533	1,995	+1,462
Paper—			
United Kingdom	11,893	7,629	—4,264
Germany	3,064	17,249	+14,185
Norway	11,319	565	—10,754

APPENDIX C—*contd.*

A.—*Imports into Afghanistan of Foreign Goods in transit through India*—contd.

Articles and Countries.	1938-39.	1939-40.	Variations (+) Increase (—) Decrease.
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
Provisions—*contd.*			
Egypt	..	269	+269
Arabia	55	..	—55
Iraq	..	49	+49
Japan	50	216	+166
China	..	862	+862
Belgium	68	..	—68
France	791	..	—791
Esthonia	..	72	+72
Canada	131	663	+532
Straits Settlements	..	80	+80
Commonwealth of Australia	..	94	+94
TOTAL	37,894	21,976	—15,918
Spices—			
Straits Settlements	14,817	49,206	+34,389
Java	210	9,329	+9,119
China	3,885	789	—3,096
British East Africa	..	1,309	+1,309
Japan	..	805	+805
TOTAL	18,912	61,438	+42,526
Sugar—			
Java	5,53,923	16,26,074	+10,72,151
TOTAL	5,53,923	16,26,074	+10,72…

APPENDIX C—*contd.*

A.—*Imports into Afghanistan of Foreign Goods in transit through India—contd.*

Articles and Countries.	1938-39.	1939-40.	Variations (+) Increase (—) Decrease.
Textiles—*contd.*	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
(iii) Silk manufactures—			
United Kingdom	8,108	1,573	—6,535
Germany	8,213	12,346	+4,133
France	21,261	27,911	+6,650
Italy	10,971	39,610	+28,639
Japan	3,38,257	6,31,711	+2,93,454
China	98	88,406	+88,308
Switzerland	175	..	—175
U. S. A.	107	1,755	+1,648
Poland	..	1,270	+1,270
Czechoslovakia	..	236	+236
TOTAL	3,87,190	8,04,818	+4,17,628
(iv) Wool manufactures—			
United Kingdom	48,971	60,851	+11,880
Germany	41,395	13,983	—27,412
Italy	41,602	56,841	+15,239
Japan	19,655	45,067	+25,412
Poland	2,890	661	—2,229
France	2,679	785	—1,894
Netherlands	..	568	+568
TOTAL	1,57,192	1,78,756	+21,564

APPENDIX C—*contd.*

A.—*Imports into Afghanistan of Foreign Goods in transit through India*—contd.

Articles and Countries.	1938-39.	1939-40.	Variations (+) Increase (—) Decrease.
Textiles—*contd*	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
(*iii*) Silk manufactures—			
United Kingdom	8,108	1,573	—6,535
Germany	8,213	12,346	+4,133
France	21,261	27,911	+6,650
Italy	10,971	39,610	+28,639
Japan	3,38,257	6,31,711	+2,93,454
China	98	88,406	+88,308
Switzerland	175	..	—175
U. S. A.	107	1,755	+1,648
Poland	..	1,270	+1,270
Czechoslovakia	..	236	+236
TOTAL	3,87,190	8,04,818	+4,17,628
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Japan	19,655	45,067	+25,412
Poland	2,890	661	—2,229
France	2,679	785	—1,894
Netherlands	..	568	+568
TOTAL	1,57,192	1,78,756	+21,564

APPENDIX C—*contd.*

A.—Imports into Afghanistan of Foreign Goods in transit through India—contd.

Articles and Countries.	1938-39.	1939-40.	Variations (+) Increase (—) Decrease.
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
VEHICLES—*contd.*			
(*iii*) Motor Cycles—			
Germany	525	..	—525
United Kingdom	..	439	+439
TOTAL	525	439	—86
ALL OTHER ARTICLES OF MERCHANDISE—			
United Kingdom	2,80,041	2,13,642	—66,399
Straits Settlements	3,602	29,651	+26,049
Hong Kong	236	28	—208
Sweden	5,782	66	—5,716
Norway	71	..	—71
Denmark	1,570	750	—820
Poland	7,212	..	—7,212
Germany	11,17,646	1,15,124	—10,02,522
Netherlands	879	3,250	+2,371
Belgium	726	2,367	+1,641
France	24,637	29,672	+5,035

APPENDIX C—*contd.*

B.—Imports from India into Afghanistan of Foreign Goods not in transit.

Articles.	1938-39.	1939-40.	Variations (+)Increase (—)Decrease.
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
Apparel, excluding Boots and Shoes	5,555	8,873	+3,318
Belting for Machinery	..	3,496	+3,496
Boots and Shoes	21,314	1,604	—19,710
Cement	50	52	+2
Building Materials other than cement	..	..	..
Chemicals	831	15,969	+15,138
Cordage and Rope including Newar	340	..	—340
Drugs, Medicines and Perfumery	38,002	44,333	+6,331
Dyeing Materials	33,031	41,400	+8,369
Fruits, Vegetables and Nuts	240	..	—240
Glass and Glassware	5,857	17,892	+12,035
Hardware and Cutlery	3,475	4,737	+1,262
Instruments, Apparatus, Appliances and parts thereof.	26,966	56,193	+29,227
Leather	1,185	10	—1,175
Liquors	..	112	+112
Machinery and Millwork	1,39,832	2,26,350	+86,518
Matches	..	193	+193

APPENDIX C—*contd.*

B.—Imports from India into Afghanistan of Foreign Goods not in transit.

Articles.	1938-39.	1939-40.	Variations (+)Increase (—)Decrease.
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
Apparel, excluding Boots and Shoes . .	5,555	8,873	+3,318
Belting for Machinery	..	3,496	+3,496
Boots and Shoes	21,314	1,604	—19,710
Cement	50	52	+2
Building Materials other than cement . .	..	..	..
Chemicals	831	15,969	+15,138
Cordage and Rope including Newar . .	340	..	—340
Drugs, Medicines and Perfumery . .	38,002	44,333	+6,331
Dyeing Materials	33,031	41,400	+8,369
Fruits, Vegetables and Nuts	240	..	—240
Glass and Glassware	5,857	17,892	+12,035
Hardware and Cutlery	3,475	4,737	+1,262
Instruments, Apparatus, Appliances and parts thereof.	26,966	56,193	+29,227
Leather	1,185	10	—1,175
Liquors	..	112	+112
Machinery and Millwork	1,39,832	2,26,350	+86,518
Matches	..	193	+193

APPENDIX D.

Statement showing the share of different countries in the total imports into Afghanistan during the years 1938-39 and 1939-40.

Country.	Amount in Indian Rupees.	
	1938-39.	1939-40.
Arabia	739	1,264
Austria	13,321	727
Bahrein Islands	8,550	86,976
Belgium	1,58,103	1,00,213
British West Indies Islands	..	240
British East Africa	165	1,309
Burma	21,39,077	14,33,979
Bulgaria	..	104
Canada	618	663
China	3,49,826	4,49 757
Commonwealth of Australia	52	314
Ceylon	..	230
Czechoslovakia	4,95,218	7,06,258
Denmark	3,390	4,194
Egypt	980	949
Esthonia	67	6,238
Finland	17,445	1,486
France	1,05,308	1,16,011
Greece	..	544

APPENDIX E.

Statement showing the quantity of exports made by the various Shirkats in Afghanistan.

Year.	Article.		Quantity.						
			Ittehadia-i-Herat.	Ittehadia-i-Shimali and Cotton Co.	Shirkat-i-Ashami.	Opium Company.	Shirkat-i-Watan.	Shirkat-i-Sehgana and Umumi.	Total.
1316 Shamsi (1937-38)	Wool	Tons	2,209	1,603	100	..	1,257	..	5,169
	Cotton	,,	2	3,306	495	..	..	..	3,703
	Karakuli, Dobar and Baghna.	Skins	374,351	..	45,014	..	..	941,207	1,370,572
	Sesame	Tons	..	217	..	..	..	..	217
	Opium	,,	..	..	..	23/80	..	..	23/80
	Carpets	Pieces	..	..	2,291	..	..	..	2,291
	Goat and sheep skins	Skins	133,462	20,167	..	..	..	..	153,629
	Pistachio	Tons			44	..	..	..	90
						..	..	..	..
							619	..	30
								..	3,842
								..	2,028
								..	22/47
								..	101,700
								[illegible]446	1,340,727
									23
									11
									..

APPENDIX E.

Statement showing the quantity of exports made by the various Shirkats in Afghanistan.

Year.	Article.		Quantity.						
			Ittehadia-i-Herat.	Ittehadia-i-Shimali and Cotton Co.	Shirkat-i-Ashami.	Opium Company.	Shirkat-i-Watan.	Shirkat-i-Sehgana and Umumi.	Total.
1316 Shamsi (1937-38)	Wool	Tons	2,209	1,603	100	..	1,257	..	5,169
	Cotton	,,	2	3,306	495	..	..	..	3,703
	Karakuli, Dobar and Baghna.	Skins	374,351	..	45,014	..	..	941,207	1,370,572
	Sesame	Tons	..	217	..	..	..	..	217
	Opium	,,	..	..	..	23/80	..	..	23/80
	Carpets	Pieces	..	..	2,291	..	..	..	2,291
	Goat and sheep skins	Skins	133,462	20,167	..	..	..	..	153,629
	Pistachio	Tons	46	..	44	..	..	..	90
	Total		..	..	..	..	..	..	..
1317 Shamsi (1938-39)	Camel Hair	Tons	30	..	..	..	..	..	30
	Wool	,,	2,016	1,207	..	..	619	..	3,842
	Cotton	,,	144	1,884	..	..	..	..	2,028
	Opium	,,	..	..	..	22/47	..	..	22/47
	Sheep and Goat skins	Skins	49,008	52,692	..	..	..	..	101,700
	Karakuli, Dobar and Baghna.	,,	24,281	..	..	..	..	1,316,446	1,340,727
	Pistachio	Tons	23	..	..	..	..	..	23
	Almonds	,,	..	11	..	..	..	..	11
	Total		..	..	..	..	..	..	..

APPENDIX E—*contd.*

Statement showing the quantity of imports made by the various Shirkats in Afghanistan.

Year.	Article.		Quantity.				
			Ittehadia-i-Shimali.	Ittehadia-i-Herat.	Shirkat-i-Ashami, Qandsazi and Motor Company.	Shirkat-i-Pushtun.	Total.
1316 Shamsi (1937-38)	Piecegoods	Bales	16,778	13,483	..	..	30,261
	Galoshes	Pairs	103,097	39,430	..	..	142,527
	Cube Sugar and Candy	Tons	1,686	1,662	470	30	3,848
	Sugar	,,	1,587	2,017	9,907	2,386	15,897
	Kerosene Oil	,,	1,171	301	..	..	1,472
	Petrol	Gallons	351,714	186,571	1,066,775	230,160	1,705.210
	Lubricants	,,	..	..	80,000	7,036	87,036
	Motors	Number	..	..	804	..	804
	Total		..	..	..	..	..
1317 Shamsi (1938-39)	Piecegoods	Bales	18,569	6,065	..	..	24,634
	Galoshes	Pairs	715,000	400,000	..	..	1,115,000
	Cube Sugar and Candy	Tons	..	..	3,631	..	3,631
	Sugar	,,	..	..	9,343	..	9,343
	Kerosene Oil	,,	1,818	604	..	..	2,422
	Petrol	Gallons	..	..	2,108,912	..	2,108,912
	Lubricants	,,	..	..	84,995	..	84,995
	Motors	Number	..	..	429	..	429
	Cement	Tons.	2,437	397	..	..	2,834
	Miscellaneous	(Worth)	661,196	219,949	..	..	881,145 (Afghanis)
	Total		..	..	..	...	..

APPENDIX F.

Statement showing the sales of Karakul skins or Persian lamb skins of different kinds during the year 1318 Shamsi (corresponding to 1939-40).

Sold at	Karakul.		Dobar.		Baghna.		Total.	
	Quantity.	Value.	Quantity.	Value.	Quantity.	Value.	Quantity.	Value.
London	802,130	£ 1,109,855	98,481	£ 65,410	53,788	£ 16,380	954,399	£ 1,191,645
New York	215,739	$ 1,744,660	97,706	$ 540,413	..	$ ..	313,445	$ 2,285,073
Kabul	344,487	Rs. (Indian) 60,22,819	233,522	Rs. (Indian) 29,60,033	154,501	Rs. (Indian) 4,38,653	732,510	Rs. (Indian) 94,21,505
Total Sales .	1,362,356	..	429,709	..	208,289	..	2,000,354	..

APPENDIX H.

Statement showing the wholesale prices of certain principal articles of consumption in the Kabul bazaar at the end of each quarter during the year 1939-40.

Article.		Unit.	At the end of June 1939.	At the end of September 1939.	At the end of December 1939.	At the end of March 1940.
			Af.	Af.	Af.	Af.
SHIRTING CLOTH—(White bleached)—						
Japanese	9595	Per piece of 40 yards.	58 0	58 0	65 0	61 0
	16000	" " " 42 "	57 0	57 0	63 0	58 0
	384	" " " 40 "	54 0	56 0	58 0	55 0
	9898	" " " 40 "	50 0	50 0	60 0	52 0
SHIRTING CLOTH—(Grey)—						
Japanese	Sepoy Mark	" " " 40 "	49 50	50 0	58 0	51 0
	9494	" " " 38 "	31 0	34 0	37 0	32 0
	6565	" " " 38 "	31 0	34 0	37 0	32 0
	9595	" " " 38 "	31 0	34 0	37 0	22 0
Russian	(striped).	" " " 40 meters.	40 0	45 0	48 0	49 0
	(Grey).	" " " 40 "	45 0	50 0	60 0	60 0
MUSLIN—						
Japanese	4030	" " " 20 yards.	19 0	22 0	23 50	22 0
	7686	" " " 20 "	17 50	15 50	21 0	19 50
	2828	" " " 20 "	16 30	15 50	21 0	19 60
	8686	" " " 20 "	19 0	18 0	23 0	22 0
Russian	(54" width)	" " " 20 meters.	22 0	28 0	31 0	31 0
British	376	" " " 20 yards.	25 0	25 30	30 0	22 0
	637	" " " 20 "	18 0	18 0	21 0	19 0
	416	" " " 21 "	33 25	33 60	41 0	39 0
COLOURED ALWAN—						
British	532	" " " 52 "	73 0	73 0	95 0	91 0
	456	" " " 52 "	73 0	83 0	97 0	92 0
	164	" " " 52 "	66 0	69 0	75 0	79 0
Indian	2200	" " " 52 "	41 0	41 20	59 0	45 0
	52000	" " " 52 "	41 0	40 0	59 0	45 0
	1293½	" " " 52 "	41 0	42 0	50 0	43 [illegible]
DRILL—						
Indian	1515	" " " 42 "	72 0	72 50	80 0	75 [illegible]
	5151	" " " 42 "	52 80	52 80	65 0	61 [illegible]
	1414-HK.	" " " 42 "	54 0	54 50	63 0	[illegible]
	1414-MS.	" " " 42 "	52 0	52 50	60 0	[illegible]
Japanese	3 dogs mark.	" " " 40 "	57 50	38 0	63 0	59 [illegible]
TWILL—						
Indian	D1616	" " " 41 "	38 0	38 0	41 0	49 [illegible]
	A414	" " " 41 "	27 25	30 0	23 0	23 [illegible]
	S1616	" " " 41 "	36 0	35 0	59 0	27 [illegible]

APPENDIX I.

Statement showing Afghan weights and measures, etc., with Indian equivalents.

	Indian equivalents.
	Seers.
AFGHAN WEIGHTS :—	
16 Khurds = 1 Charak	1·961
4 Charaks = 1 Seer	7·844
8 Seer = 1 Man	62·750
10 Mans = 1 Kharwar	627·500
MEASURES OF LENGTH—	
1 Gaz, Shahi	42 Inches.
1 Gaz, Raiati	29 Inches.
AFGHAN CURRENCY :—	
50 Puls = 1 Qiran.	
2 Qirans = 1 Afghani (rupee).	
305 Afghanis (rupees)	100 Indian rupees.

Government account. In the month of April 1938 the Bank invited applications from importers for the purchase of foreign exchange and they were granted drafts to the extent of one-fourth of their requirements at the rate of 355 Afghanis per Rs. 100 (Indian). There were no further sales of foreign exchange throughout the year until March 1939 when the demands of the traders were met in full at the rate of 500 Afghanis. During the interval the traders were free to export Afghanis to Peshawar, sell them there and pay for their imports. Owing to a glut of the Afghanis their value in Peshawar depreciated and this greatly affected the course of trade between India and Afghanistan during the year 1938-39. These details were not known at the time of the last year's report and were not therefore mentioned then.

The foregoing shows that the Exchange Control Law was not strictly in force even at the centre during the major part of the year 1938-39. The Law was properly enforced only in the year under review but unfortunately owing to the outbreak of war in September 1939 the last seven months of the year were not a normal period. Nevertheless the Bank succeeded in gradually bringing down the rate for the sale of Indian currency to importing merchants and in this view the Afghan Government are entitled to claim some success in achieving their avowed object of stabilization of the Afghani. Subsequent events, however, show that this improvement was shortlived. Owing to a shortage of foreign exchange the Bank stopped issuing rupee drafts in July 1940 and [illegible] this situation disposed of [illegible] per Rs. 100 (Indian). [illegible] ian frontier do not include the imports of arms, munitions and other war materials. The published figures show that increases have occurred both in the imports and exports but the increases in exports are larger than those in imports. This means that the control on the foreign trade of the country has been effective and that more money has been found for the purchase of invisible imports in the year under review as compared with the preceding year. Incidentally, the outbreak of war also contributed to this end as it became difficult to obtain supplies from European countries and this led to economy in the import of goods from outside.

The trading community has after all become accustomed to the control on foreign exchange and no particular inconvenience is experienced by it except when the Bank suspends the issue of rupee drafts particularly in the seasons when no export commodities like dried fruits, spices, etc., are available to cover the cost of imports.

One cause of the weakness of the Afghani in recent years is stated to be the large number of Afghans going on Haj pilgrimage. The number of pilgrims used to be in the neighbourhood of 1,500 up to the year 1936 but in the following year the number reached 5,000. Over 70 million Afghanis are estimated to have been spent in that year in financing Haj pilgrims. Very few Afghans are said to have proceeded on pilgrimage in the year under review.

Bazaar prices of different descriptions of cotton piecegoods and other principal articles of consumption of Indian, Japanese, United Kingdom and an origin are given in Appendix H.

CHAPTER XI.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.

I owe a deep debt of gratitude to His Majesty's Minister, Kabul, for the guidance and advice which he has always given me in the discharge of my duties in this country. He has throughout been anxious that this Agency should be increasingly useful in promoting the Indo-Afghan trade and thus advance the mutual interests of both countries.

I would also thankfully acknowledge the co-operation and help that I have received from the officers of the Legation and His Britannic Majesty's Consuls at Kandahar and Jalalabad.

I would also take this opportunity of thanking His Excellency the Minister of National Economy of the Royal Afghan Government, the officers of his Ministry and of the Afghan National Bank, President of the Chamber of Commerce, the Head of the Customs Administration in Kabul and the Presidents of the Afghan Sugar Syndicate and the Government Purchase Office for the unfailing kindness and co-operation which I have received from them throughout the period of my stay here.

My thanks are also due to various merchants and traders both Indian and Afghan who have always responded to the trade enquiries made by this Agency and have never failed to offer useful advice and co-operation in advancing the common interests of Indo-Afghan trade.

MOHD. NASRULLAH,

Indian Trade Agent,

Kabul.

Dated Kabul, the 15th January 1941.

Attempts at Municipal legislation had been made in India by Act X of 1842 and Act XXVI of 1850 The former Act never really came into operation and was repealed in 1850 as having proved ineffectual and the latter Act, which was of a permissive character had though largely applied in the N W Provinces and Bombay remained almost a dead letter in the rest of India. But the *Chaukidari* or local Police, Act of 1856 was brought into operation chiefly in Bengal and the N W Provinces Its main object was to provide for the watch and ward of the places to which it was extended No previous application from the inhabitants was necessary and all authority was really vested in the Magistrate. A *panchayat* or Committee, was nominated by him of at least five members whose duty it was to assess upon the inhabitants the rates to be paid to meet the demand on the place but their proceedings were subject to revision by the Magistrate. He also appointed the *chaukidars* fixed their rates of pay and determined what additional sums were required for the collecting and other establishments &c. Any further sum available after defraying the expenses of the *chaukidars* might be devoted to cleansing lighting or otherwise improving the town The tax to be levied under the Act might be either an assessment according to the circumstances and property to be protected of the persons liable to pay it or a rate on houses and ground according to the annual value thereof Government was to determine which form the tax should take and maximum payments were fixed at low rates. Before its repeal this Act was in force only in small towns or large villages or groups of villages

The Chaukidari or local Police Act.

Municipal Government in Calcutta dates from 1840 In that year the town was divided into four divisions and the Government was empowered on the application of two-thirds of the rate payers in any division to entrust to them the assessment, collection and management of the rates on a scheme to be approved by Government But this self working system never worked for not a single application was made to Government under the Act Then followed experiments with seven Commissioners with four and three In 1856 Municipal legislation was undertaken by the Government of India for the Presidency towns By Act XIV of that year provision was made for the conservancy and improvement

Calcutta Municipal Acts.

of the town of Calcutta (and other Presidency towns), the responsibility being vested in "the Municipal Commissioners," meaning the persons, however designated, constituted to administer the funds for the purpose. Act XXV provided for the assessment and collection of municipal rates and taxes in those towns, and, by Act XXVIII, three Municipal Commissioners were to be appointed by the Lieutenant-Governor for the conservancy and improvement of Calcutta, and power was given them to raise additional funds for drainage and lighting These powers were utilized in March 1859, the Municipal Commissioners submitted Messrs Rendels' report on their Engineer s, Mr Clark s, scheme for the drainage and sewerage of the town.

Excise

In 1856 the Excise Law (*i e*, the law to regulate the liquor-traffic) of Bengal was amended and consolidated In no subject has the policy of Government more constantly oscillated than it has in Excise, between *sadar* distilleries and outstills, and perhaps the last word has not yet been said The following extracts from an important despatch of 1890 will show how the pendulum swung to and fro for exactly hundred years in Bengal The variations subsequent to 1856, will be described more fully as they occurred

"In Bengal, in the period immediately preceding British rule, the tax on spirits and drugs was for the most part levied, like other taxes, through the agency of the *zamindars* or tax farmers , and the Bengal Excise Commission (of 1883) recorded their opinion that under that system "it is probable that there was a practically unrestricted system of outstills paying very low rates in many places" In other words, the system which the British Government found universally in force in Bengal was the worst form of the most inefficient system that has ever prevailed in the country This system was necessarily continued for some time under British rule under it the price of spirit was less than it has ever been anywhere in Bengal since the modern excise system was introduced in 1790, and complaints were then rife about the spread of drunkenness among the lower classes of the people

'In 1790 the Bengal Government determined, on moral grounds, to resume from the *zamindars* the right of collecting duties on spirits and drugs, the immoderate use of spirituous liquors and drugs, "which had become prevalent among many of the lower orders of people owing to the very inconsiderable price at which they were manufactured and sold

previous to 1790 being stated in the preamble of one of the Regulations as a reason for the new rules. This was the first step taken in the direction of reform, and the ground then gained has never been lost as the number of shops has since that date been always limited by Government and not left to be settled as caprice or the cupidity of individual land-owners dictated. The Regulations issued between 1790 and 1800 prohibited the levying of a tax on the manufacture or sale of liquors except on the part of Government, and manufacture or sale without a license from the Collector a daily tax was levied on each still, and the officials were instructed to reduce as much as possible the number of licenses, and to fix on stills the highest rates which could be levied without operating as a prohibition. The system thus introduced was an outstill system each license was for one still only

"In 1813 an attempt was made to introduce central distilleries in large towns, outstill licenses being prohibited within eight miles of any such distillery Twenty-one central distilleries were opened; but after a few years experience the opinion was formed that the measure had not in general been productive of the advantage expected to be derived from it, and the distilleries were closed in all districts except five.

"After 1824 the farming system with certain restrictions more or less strictly enforced, was tried and the system was extended to nearly the whole province.

"This in its turn was found to be open to objection to lead to an encouragement of consumption and to involve a sacrifice of revenue, by which the farmer alone benefited and from 1840 changes were introduced which resulted in the general re introduction of the outstill system except in a few places where central distilleries were continued.

"In 1856, by Act XXI of that year the Excise Law of Lower Bengal and the North Western Provinces was consolidated and amended. The manufacture of spirit after the English method was confined to duly licensed distilleries, and the rate of duty on such spirit was fixed at one rupee a gallon the customs duty on imported spirit was then Re. 1 8-0 a gallon. Collectors were to issue licenses to any person for the manufacture of country spirit they were also authorized to establish distilleries for the manufacture of country spirit and to fix limits within which no liquor except that manufactured at such distillery should be sold, and no stills established or worked. There is no mention in the Act of the levy of a fixed rate of duty per gallon on the produce of such distilleries; the Boards of Revenue were merely given a general power to prescribe the conditions on which spirits might be manufactured at them The levy of a tax or duty on licenses for retail sale was pre

scribed, and generally wide powers were given for the restriction and taxation of the trade in spirits and drugs

"In 1859 the Government of India suggested to all Local Governments the expediency on moral and fiscal grounds, of extending the central distillery system, with a fixed rate of duty per gallon, to many *populous localities, if not universally* The Bengal Government adopted this view, thinking that the measure would render it possible to increase the rate of tax and discourage consumption The system was accordingly introduced almost universally throughout the province in the next few years, the objections of local officials that in many places the system could not be worked successfully being over-ruled

"Before the end of the decade numerous objections to this wholesale measure were forced on the attention of the Government, and in 1874 several memorials were received praying that steps might be taken to counteract the growing increase of drinking and drunkenness The objections to the universal adoption of central distilleries were so strong that it was decided to re-introduce outstills in certain places, from 1871 steps in this direction were taken, and after 1877 the reaction was carried to very great lengths, and outstills again became the general rule, central distilleries being the exception

"A few years' experience of this system proved that, while it was not open to the objection of *forcing the people to illicit practices*, it was open to that of insufficiently discouraging drinking, as, in some cases, it admitted of liquor being sold at very low rates This consideration led to the appointment of the Bengal Excise Commission in 1883 and since the Report of that Commission was received the Government has been engaged in correcting the evils arising from the excessive reaction in favour of the outstill system, the central distillery system is being re-introduced wherever there is a prospect of its being worked with satisfactory results and the measures for regulating outstills recommended by the Commission are being adopted

"This brief notice of Bengal is sufficient to show that since 1790, when the worst conceivable system existed, taken over from the previous Native Government, attempts have been continually made to introduce the sounder and more scientific practice of levying a fixed duty on each gallon of spirit, and that the errors committed have generally been the introduction of reforms in too great haste, and the consequent reaction and reversion to stricter systems which invariably followed The question of the comparative merits of the central distillery and the outstill in particular localities is one on which there may be, and is, great difference of opinion, because their relative advantages cannot

be tested by figures. The danger of the immediate future is that the reaction against the outstill system may now be carried too far But one branch of the excise question refers to the number of shops, and the rates of duty If the number of shops has not been increased and the rates of duty not lowered, still more if the number of shops has been reduced and the rate of duty raised wherever a fixed duty levied, it will be clear that in these respects at least there has been no relaxation in the restrictions on drinking

The Hindu Widows Remarriage Act.

In 1856 a Bill was brought in by Sir J P Grant as Member of Council and passed as Act XV to remove all legal obstacles to the marriage of Hindu widows. This had long been a subject of controversy which was thus settled once for all. The preamble of the Act itself contains sufficient reasons for its enactment —

"Whereas it is known that, by the law as administered in the Civil Courts established in the territories in the possession and under the Government of the East India Company Hindu widows with certain exceptions are held to be, by reason of their having been once married incapable of contracting a second valid marriage, and the offspring of such widows by any second marriage are held to be illegitimate and incapable of inheriting property

and whereas many Hindus believe that this imputed legal incapacity although it is in accordance with established custom is not in accordance with a true interpretation of the precepts of their religion, and desire that the Civil law administered by the Courts of Justice shall no longer prevent those Hindus who may be so minded from adopting a different custom, in accordance with the dictates of their own consciences

and whereas it is just to relieve all such Hindus from this legal incapacity of which they complain and the removal of all legal obstacles to the marriage of Hindu widows will tend to the promotion of good morals and to the public welfare" it was enacted &c &c.

The first clause of the Act was— "No marriage contracted between Hindus shall be invalid and the issue of no such marriage shall be illegitimate by reason of the woman having been previously married or betrothed to another person who was dead at the time of such marriage any custom and any interpretation of Hindu law to the contrary notwithstanding" Much has been written and might be written on the policy of passing this Law and on its effect on Hindu Society

Police.

The Police of a Province is one of the first matters requiring attention and in no Province of India was the Police force more in need of improvement than in Bengal Sir George Campbell wrote thus in his *Modern India*, in 1852 —

"In Bengal Proper, on the contrary, both the police and people are effeminate, and the former has attained an unfortunate notoriety as being more active for evil than good The misdeeds of the Bengal police may be a good deal exaggerated, but they are doubtless inefficient and apt to be corrupt The chance of efficiency seems to be much lessened by the precautions which it is necessary to take against extortion and malversation on their part A Bengal Inspector, instead of being an active, soldier-like man, mounted on a pony, is generally an obese individual, clad in fine linen, who can hardly walk, and would think it death to get on horseback, who is carried about in a palanquin on men's shoulders, and affects rather a judicial than a thief-catching character When a serious crime occurs, he *first* writes an elaborate report, and perhaps intimates his intention of proceeding *next day* to investigate the case, and, when he does go, he takes up his quarters in the village, and, summoning all and sundry to appear before him, holds his court This is just the man to suit a prosecutor who gets up his own case at his own discretion and produces his own witnesses, but little is gained by an unfortunate, stripped by *dacoits*, who finds the Inspector quartered upon him, taking useless depositions But, after all the great cause of crime in Bengal is the effeminacy of the people, who do not defend themselves against either *dacoits* or Police It is certain that, at this moment, in many districts of Bengal, the inhabitants are not only in danger of secret thieves but of open robbers, that gang-robberies are frequent, and any man's house may be invaded in the night by armed force"

Sir George Campbell referred to the same subject in his Administration Report for 1871-2. "It has been said that in Bengal the rich and powerful have been less restrained and the poor less protected than in other provinces and up to that time (the mutiny) this was so in the most literal sense of the word There was in the interior of Bengal a lawlessness and high-handed defiance of authority by people who took the law into their own hands by open violence, which would not have been tolerated for a moment in any other part of India It required all the energies of the first Lieutenant-Governor to deal with these and other patent evils"

Sir John Strachey has described* Bengal as having been in 1853 the most backward of the provinces of the Empire "There were almost no roads or bridges or schools, and there was no proper protection to life and property The police was worthless and robberies and violent crimes by gangs of armed men, which were unheard of in other provinces were common not far from Calcutta From the date of the appointment of a Lieutenant Governor a great change began and constant improvement has been going on ever since. The Courts have been purified the police has been organised crimes of violence have almost ceased

Subsequent to the abolition of the office of Superintendent of Police for the Lower Provinces in 1853 the Commissioners of Circuit had the general control of the Police in their Divisions submitting their periodical returns and annual reports regarding each district, direct to Government. The Magistrate of each district was held responsible for the actual management of his own police and was bound to keep the Commissioner constantly informed of all his proceedings being entitled to the assistance and support of the Commissioner in all cases of difficulty There was then also a Commissioner for the suppression of *Dacoity* working through a system of approvers. In the years 1854 57 the question of the best form of police administration in Bengal was much discussed Lord Dalhousie in his last despatch as Governor of Bengal to the Government of India on the 28th of April 1854 held that the separation of the offices of Magistrate and Collector had been an error and that the true theory of Government in India was the entire subjection of every Civil Officer in a Division to the Commissioner at the head of it Sir J P Grant as Member of Council in more than one minute strongly opposed the reunion of the offices of Magistrate and Collector Sir F Halliday as Lieutenant Governor as strongly advocated it The Governor-General (Lord Canning) in the minute of the 18th February 1857 expressed his opinion that reason, no less than experience pointed to the necessity of concentrating the whole executive power of the Government in each district of Bengal in the hands of one experienced man. He thought the division of authority was to be avoided rather than sought. As regards the people he fully believed that the

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patriarchal form of Government was in their present condition most congenial to them and best understood by them and, as regards the governing power, "the concentration of all responsibility upon one officer cannot fail to keep his attention alive, and to stimulate his energy in every department to the utmost whilst it will preclude the growth of those obstructions to good Government which are apt to spring up where two co-ordinate officers divide the authority"

While this question of the separation of the offices of Magistrate and Collector in Bengal was under discussion, many allusions were made to the old cry of the inadequacy of the Police For instance Sir J P Grant wrote "It is very true that we are pressed with the sense of police affairs in Bengal being amiss now But what is the root of the evil? No one denies that police affairs in Bengal will continue amiss, till an adequate constabulary force and trusty native officials in the *thanas* are provided for it, till Bengal shall be put on an equal footing in this respect with the rest of India" and Sir F Halliday, in March 1855, "It is stated with perfect justice, that one great cause, perhaps the greatest, of the present inefficiency of the police is the want of an adequate constabulary force, and, "I suppose that every body will agree in desiring that the constabulary force should be as large and the pay of the police as high as the nature of the service requires, and the Government finances can afford" Sir F Halliday's suggestions for the improvement of the *mufassal* police assumed definite shape in April 1855 It was proposed not to touch the pay of the police *darogas* which had been raised in 1843 but to raise the *muharrirs* to three grades of Rs 40, Rs 35, and Rs 30 a month, the *jamadars* to three ranks of Rs 20, Rs 15, and Rs 10 a month, and the *barkandazes* to Rs 6, Rs 5 and Rs 4 a month the total increase per annum amounting to Rs 3,38,609 It was admitted that the outlay though considerable could not be regarded as final, as the police establishment was numerically weaker than it should be for the protection of property and the preservation of good order The official application concluded thus "The immediate object of the outlay now proposed is to remove what has hitherto been a standing reproach of Indian Administration in Bengal, and the Lieutenant-Governor would urge the matter upon the attention of

the Supreme Government with an expression of earnest hope that a public measure which is in his opinion *surpassed by no other* in importance may be recommended to the Hon'ble Court. The inadequate payment of the subordinate officers of police was one of the matters it may be remarked which formed the subject of investigation before the late Parliamentary Committee appointed to enquire into the operation of the Charter Act of 1834" The Government of India passed no immediate orders on this application of the Bengal Government. On the 4th June 1856 the local Government again pressed the question by submitting an elaborate minute (of ninety-three paragraphs, with annexures) dated the 30th April 1856 by Sir F Halliday on the improvement of the police and the administration of criminal justice in Bengal He admitted the badness of the *mufassal* police and the insufficiency of the measures previously taken to improve them he regarded the thirty three subdivisional Magistracies then existing as too few to exercise adequate control and he dwelt on the corrupt state of the village *chaukidars* At the same time he considered that it would be vain to improve the agency for the detection and apprehension of criminals unless the agency for trying them was also improved no doubt the badness of the police and the inefficiency of the tribunals act and react on each other and both are concerned in bringing about the deplorable existing circumstances" "Whether right or wrong the general native opinion is that the administration of criminal justice is little better than a lottery in which however the best chances are with the criminals; and I think this also is very much the opinion of the European *mufassal* community —the corruption and extortion of the police which causes it to be popularly said that *dacoity* is bad enough, but the subsequent police inquiry very much worse The inexperience of the Magistrates did not escape notice Sir F Halliday considered five measures indispensably necessary—(1) the improvement of the character and position of the village *chaukidars* or watchmen (2) adequate salaries and fair prospects of advancement to the stipendiary police (3) the appointment of more experienced officers as covenanted *zilla* Magistrates (4) a considerable increase in the number of uncovenanted or Deputy Magistrates (5) improvement in the Criminal Courts of Justice He asked for one-

hundred more Deputy Magistrates, and for the junction of judicial and executive power in all Magistrates As to (5) above many suggestions were offered The assistance afforded by good roads to the police was mentioned, and he advocated the encouragement of good service among the *amla* and the institution of a Civil Order of Merit for natives Sir F Halliday also recapitulated the arguments for and against the extended employment of rich and powerful *zamindars* and planters in the *mufassal* as Honorary Magistrates, but did not recommend the measure for immediate adoption Finally he dwelt upon the importance of a popular system of vernacular education, as sure to prove cheaper and more enduringly profitable than the best system of administration by the most efficient and costly establishments

Lord Canning, in the minute of 18th February 1857, already quoted, proposed to reorganize the police of Bengal, without waiting for a plan applicable to the whole of India, and to sanction the additional charges asked for by Sir F Halliday In writing to the Court of Directors in May 1857, the Government of India unanimously reported that the appointment of one Police Commissioner for the whole of the Lower Provinces was not expedient and that the Commissioners should exercise authority over the police as well as other branches of the executive They also recommended a moveable corps of military police for each Division, to be ready to assist the civil police in case of need, being employed ordinarily in station and escort duties In consequence of the Sonthal insurrection, the Government of India determined on permanently locating a second regiment or irregular cavalry in Bengal, and, with reference to the apparent necessity for more troops also, asked Sir F Halliday what additional troops would suffice and where they should be placed The opportunity was taken of recommending a scheme for raising a body of military police for the internal defence of Bengal, by which, if well organized and officered, the peace of the country might be preserved, even on such occasions as the Sonthal insurrection, with very small or no assistance from regular troops and at a much smaller expense A force was sanctioned, to consist of a battalion of foot of 100 sepoys, and of a *risala* of 100 *sawars* The corps was raised near Lahore and sufficiently organized for ordinary military purposes by October 1856,

was marched down under its commandant, Captain Rattray and was completing its drill at Suri when the Mutinies broke out. The whole Corps volunteered to go out against the insurgents and was most actively and usefully employed In 1858 a military police corps was sanctioned with a strength of 900 for each of the 10 battalions, all under Major Rattray as Inspector but for reasons of economy not more than 700 per battalion were enrolled These battalions were largely recruited from the rude but hardy tribes of the Non Regulation Provinces each consisting of men of the same race The military police at Chittagong were of great use soon after their formation in repelling an incursion of the Kukis upon the eastern frontier and in quieting excitement among the *rayats* of the indigo districts by a display of force in suitable places all tendency to riot and violent disturbance was suppressed In 1856-57 it was brought to the notice of Government that several daring cases of robbery upon travellers and attacks upon the Government bullock train had lately been committed on the Grand Trunk road and that the density of the jungles skirting the road in many parts afforded thieves and plunderers convenient shelter to ambuscade while watching the approach of their victims Government resolved to extend the clearance of jungle on each side of the road from 50 to 200 yards to increase and reorganize the road police force to build additional station houses about 1½ to 3½ miles apart, and to ensure more vigilant and active supervision over the police

Communications.

Some idea of the want of means of communication in Bengal may be formed from the following facts In 1855-6 an Engineer Officer was still engaged in preparing detailed plans and estimates and investigating the question of the best starting point for the Calcutta Darjeeling road from the Ganges in 1856 7 preference was provisionally given to a road from Caragola Ghat opposite the intended Railway Station at Pirpainti to run through Purnea and Kissenganj to Titalya and there join the existing road to Darjeeling The cost was assumed at 21 lakhs of rupees. The whole road from Caragola Ghat to Siliguri, 126 miles was not complete in 1861 2 by that date it was not metalled and the bridging of five large rivers still remained to be carried out In 1864 65 one river was still unbridged The cart Road from Siliguri to Darjeeling (then supposed to be 62 mile

in length), was only commenced in 1861-62 at the two ends, Kurseong and the Saddle nothing had then been done towards the formation of the road from Kurseong to the plains In the year 1855-56 a Committee was appointed to consider the project of bridging the Hooghly at or near Calcutta, and submitted its report This project was dropped in 1859-60 In 1855-56 the Calcutta Jessore Road had been sanctioned The project of the Cuttack Road was submitted to the Court of Directors, as it was to cost nearly 9 *lakhs* Four streams on the Grand Trunk Road remained to be bridged And (to anticipate a little) there were in 1861-62 in Bengal 11 Imperial Trunk Roads existing or under construction, extending over 1994 miles, with Imperial branch roads aggregating 1145 miles the Grand Trunk Road from Calcutta to the Karamnassa was nearly completed It was expected that these roads would take 167 *lakhs*, to complete them, whereas the funds available were only 7 to 8 *lakhs* a year Schemes were plentiful enough but the means and time were wanting

Railways
The E I Railway

No better account of the early beginnings of railways in Bengal is likely to be forthcoming than that recorded by Lord Dalhousie in his final minute of 28th February 1856, from which the following paragraphs are taken —

"The subject of railway communication in India was first laid before the Supreme Government by Mr Macdonald Stephenson, in 1843 In 1849 the Hon'ble Company engaged in a contract with the East Indian Railway Company, for the construction of an experimental line at a cost not exceeding one million sterling The line was to be selected with a view to its forming a portion of a future trunk line to the North-Western Provinces On that ground the section from Howrah towards Rajmahal was chosen, with a branch to the Coal field at Raniganj In the cold weather of 1851, a line was surveyed between Burdwan and Rajmahal In the following season that survey was continued to Allahabad

In the Spring of 1853 the Government of India submitted to the Court of Directors its views upon the general question of railways for the Indian Empire The Hon'ble Court was respectfully advised to encourage the formation of railways in India to the utmost It was urged not to hesitate to engage in the enterprise upon a scale commensurate to the vast extent of the territories which had been placed under its Government, and to the great political and commercial interests which

were involved. It was specifically recommended that, in the first instance, a system of trunk lines should be formed, connecting the interior of each Presidency with its principal port, and connecting the several Presidencies with each other

The trunk lines which were proposed, and of which the general direction could alone be given, were,—1st.—A line from Calcutta to Lahore 2nd.—A line from Agra, or some point in Hindustan, to Bombay or alternatively a line from Bombay by the Narbada valley to meet at some point the line from Calcutta to Lahore 3rd.—A line uniting Bombay and Madras 4th.—A line from Madras to the Malabar coast. The Hon'ble Court was pleased to give its approval to the general plan which the Supreme Government had sketched.

Some progress has already been made in the construction of most of these lines and measures have been taken for the construction of them all in due course of time. In the Bengal Presidency the line from Calcutta to Raniganj a distance of 1?0 miles, was opened on the 3rd. February 1855. The Court of Directors has sanctioned the construction of a line from Burdwan to Delhi, on a capital of £10,000,000 sterling The direction of the line from Burdwan to Allahabad having been previously approved, that from Allahabad to Cawnpore was sanctioned in June 1854, from Cawnpore to near Agra in December 1854, and thence *viâ* Agra and Muttra to Delhi in November 1855 Surveys of two alternative lines from Delhi or Agra to Lahore were executed in 1854 55 additional surveys have been authorised from Mirzapur to Jabalpur and from Cawnpore to Bhilsa.

It has been stated above that the trunk line from Calcutta to Burdwan, with a branch to Raniganj, has already been opened It is expected that the section of this trunk line which lies between Mirzapur and Agra (except the bridge over the Jamna at Allahabad) will be completed by the end of 1857 and arrangements are in progress for opening this portion of the line separately It is further expected that the section between Burdwan and Rajmahal will be completed in 1858, and the remainder probably not till 1859.

In fact the East India Railway was opened to the Ajai river in October 1858 to Rajmahal in October 1859 to Bhagalpur in 1861 to Monghyr in February 1862 and to Benares (541 miles) in December 1862

Sir Charles Wood President of the Board of Control having in January 1855 drawn the attention of the Court of Directors to the numerous discrepancies to be found in the salaries of corresponding officers under the different

Leveling of gradation

Presidencies the Government of India on the 15th March 1855 appointed Mr. (afterwards Sir) H Ricketts, B C S., Member of the Board of Revenue, to be Commissioner for the revision of civil salaries and establishments throughout India His duty was to equalise salaries and duties all over India, and reduce as far as possible the aggregate expenditure Thus every appointment came under scrutiny in Bengal as in the rest of India Sir H. Ricketts presented an exhaustive report to the Government of India on the 1st September 1858, and on the 3rd June 1859 the Government of India reviewed his report in a despatch addressed to Lord Stanley, then Secretary of State The principles on which Sir H. Ricketts conducted the revision were considered generally to be unobjectionable, but Government excepted the measure by which he proposed to open certain appointments to all classes of servants, and award the same salary to the incumbents without reference to class, whether they were Civilians, or Military Officers, East Indians or Natives Whereas Sir H Ricketts had recommended reductions in salaries amounting to Rs 11,20,435 a year, as compared with existing salaries, the Government recommended a reduction of Rs 10,33,423 Sir H Ricketts proposed a reduction of 12 15 per cent in the aggregate pay of the officers of the Judicial and Land Revenue Departments in Bengal Including proposed improvements in many departments, his recommendations would have resulted, on the whole, in an annual increase of Rs 9,81,457 *per annum* I can trace no comprehensive orders on this Report, and have always understood that no orders were passed on it as a whole

Charak Puja.

In the year 1856-57, some remarkable correspondence took place on the subject of the Hindu Festival called *Charak Puja* The Court of Directors having remarked that, if the practice of swinging on *Charak* was found to be attended with cruelty, and liable to be enforced without the free consent of parties submitting to it, Government would doubtless consider what measures should be adopted, an inquiry was made whether the existing law was sufficient for preventing the crime, or whether special measures were required Before reports were received, however, the Court of Directors wrote again saying that they preferred that endeavours for the suppression of this practice should be based on the exertion of influence rather than upon any

act of authority At the same time the Calcutta Missionary Conference memorialised Government, not asking for interference with the religious ceremony of the *Charak Puja*, but for the suppression of the cruelties the acts of barbarism and suffering which accompanied its celebration during the three principal days of the festival These devotees, it was said cast themselves on thorns and upraised knives, they pierce their arms or tongues by iron arrows, draw strings through the flesh of their sides, or fix thereto spikes that are heated by continually burning fire while others swing on the *Charak* tree by hooks fastened through the muscles of their backs After careful consideration Sir F Halliday *came to the conclusion that, as the case was one of pain* voluntarily undergone the remedy must be left to the Missionary and the school master and that, as stated by the Court of Directors, all such cruel ceremonies must be discouraged by influence rather than by authority

Tours.

During his term of office Sir F Halliday made extensive tours, visiting every considerable station under his control except Assam and including the opium agency at Ghazipur in the N W Provinces His tours were for the first time recorded in 1856 57 The tour commenced on the 30th June and terminated on the 7th September 1856 It was mainly a water expedition and comprised a visit to the river stations of Berhampore Murshidabad Rajmahal, Bhagalpur Monghyr Barh Patna Chapra, Ghazipur Purnea and Malda were also visited The steamer and yacht were nearly wrecked in a severe gale a little above Rampur Boalia. Sir F Halliday subsequently proceeded to Calcutta by the unusual route of the Mathabhanga, to observe the state of the Nadia district It was evidently a year of high floods a the whole country was one sheet of water so that it was difficult to distinguish even the course of the river and the villages except those on the higher lands were nearly submerged "The Lieutenant Governor made a practice at each station of inspecting the several public offices the school the library the jail the dispensary and any other public institution belonging to the place and all matters demanding his consideration were brought forward discussed and investigated on the spot with all the advantage which personal communication usually confers

The Lieutenant-Governor also gave his immediate attention to all representations, petitions and complaints that were submitted to him by the people, to whom both high and low, every facility of access was given Public darbars were held at Berhampore and Dacca" I have thus quoted the original record of the work done on these tours, as it contains a description applicable to all of them, and need not be repeated In December Sir F Halliday visited Burdwan, Raniganj, and Bankura travelling chiefly by the East Indian Railway On the 15th January 1857, he proceeded, *via* the Sundarbins, to Rampur Boalia where his camp had been formed, and marched through Dinajpur and Rangpur, to determine on the best site for a new Cantonment for a regiment of Native Infantry and two troops of Irregular Cavalry in that direction The Government of India were at that time contemplating measures against the Government of Bhutan, to punish them for past outrages and restrain them for the future In a minute of the 5th March 1857, Sir F Halliday proposed, as a punitive measure, to take possession not of all the Bengal (*sic*) Duars, but of the territory acquired by Bhutan by our cessions of 1780-84 and 1787 For the execution of this threat the advance of troops beyond Rangpur was required, and, after full consideration on the spot, he recommended that the Cantonment should be located at Jalpaiguri, and this was the site finally chosen He then proceeded to Darjeeling for a few weeks and was there when the Mutinies began He immediately returned to Calcutta

Sir F Halliday's influence

Sir John Kaye has recorded the influence which Sir F Halliday had over Lord Canning. During the early months of the Mutinies, when proposals were being made for the disarming of the whole native population and every native soldier was under suspicion of being disaffected, Lord Canning had persistently refused to disarm his own bodyguard or to substitute a European guard for the Sepoy sentries at Government House Sir John Kaye writes ' At last, Mr Halliday, Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, who had come down to the Presidency from Darjeeling (early in June 1857), so wrought upon the Governor-General by telling him that his duty to his country demanded that he should take every precaution to protect a life, which at such a time was of incalculable value, that he began reluctantly to yield, and to bethink himself of consenting to the change which had been so often vainly pressed upon him

It was no easy task that Halliday had set himself and it was not easily accomplished. Time did something to mitigate the difficulty for the general disaffection of the Bengal Army was every week becoming more apparent. But the personal influence of the Lieutenant Governor did more Lord Canning said of him afterwards, that for many months he had been the "right hand of the Government. A man of commanding stature and altogether of a goodly presence he looked like one born to command He had all his life been a steady robust workman and he had brought to his work no small amount of natural ability and administrative sagacity of the most serviceable kind His lot had been cast in the hitherto tranquil regions of Bengal No opportunity of proving his powers in action had been afforded to him but his sufficiency in council had won the confidence of successive Governments and in all that related to the Lower Provinces there was no man whose experiences were of greater value To Lord Canning, who wisely or unwisely had been chary of his confidences to those immediately about him the arrival of Mr Halliday had been extremely welcome and from that time there was no member of the Government whom he so frequently consulted or whose opinions he so much respected But still only by repeatedly urging upon the Governor General that his life belonged to his country and that he had no right to expose it to any unnecessary risks, could his Lieutenant induce him to allow the order to be issued for European guards to be posted at Government House It was not, indeed until the month of August had expired that the European guard marched into the compound of Government House under the immediate orders of the Lieutenant Governor*

Per contra Sir H S Cunningham records another incident with reference to Lord Canning's nobility of character— Sir F Halliday narrates how on one occasion when the outcry against him was loudest, Lord Canning showed him papers illustrating the scandalous brutality of certain of the special tribunals The Lieutenant Governor urged their publication by way of reply to his calumniators "No" said Lord Canning taking the papers and locking them up in his drawer "I had rather submit to any obloquy than publish to the world what would so terribly disgrace

* This was either on the 31st of August or the 1st of September

my countrymen. It is sufficient that I have prevented them for the future"

It is not my purpose to give a general history of the Mutinies, which would involve an incursion into regions far beyond the purview of this work But it cannot be overlooked that the Mutinies absorbed all thoughts, and so dislocated the machinery of Government—both the Supreme and the Local—that little else could be attended to during 1857 and part of 1858 Sir F Halliday himself was obliged to be in such frequent and close personal communication with Lord Canning that he had to take rooms overlooking Government House and repair to them daily for the transaction, at much inconvenience, of the business which he, as Lieutenant-Governor, usually conducted at Belvedere, 3 miles out of Calcutta It will be remembered that the first indications of the troubles to come were manifested in Lower Bengal Early in 1857 the rumour of the greased cartridges was spread at Dum-Dum the 19th N I. mutinied at Berhampore on the 26th of February and were disbanded on the 31st March at Barrackpore, the affair of Mungul Panday of the 34th N I and the misconduct of that regiment occurred also at Barrackpore on the 29th. March, leading after full inquiry, to their disbandment on the 6th May The air was full of rumours and accordingly the Government of India issued the following Proclamation of the 16th May 1857, under the signature of Sir C Beadon, Secretary in the Home Department it may be here quoted, as it applied to Bengal and was published in Calcutta —

The Mutinies.

Proclamation.

"The Governor-General of India in Council has warned the Army of Bengal, that the tales by which the men of certain Regiments have been led to suspect that offence to their Religion or injury to their caste is meditated by the Government of India are malicious falsehoods The Governor-General in Council has learnt that this suspicion continues to be propagated by designing and evil-minded men, not only within the Army but amongst other classes of the people He knows that endeavours are made to persuade Hindus and Muhammadans, Soldiers and Civil Subjects, that their religion is threatened secretly, as well as openly, by the acts of the Government, and that the Government is seeking in various ways to entrap them into a loss of Caste for purposes of its own Some have been already deceived and led astray

by these tales. Once more then the Governor General in Council warns all classes against the deceptions that are practised on them.

"The Government of India has invariably treated the religious feelings of all its subjects with careful respect. The Governor General in Council has declared that it will never cease to do so. He now repeats that declaration and he emphatically proclaims that the Government of India entertains no desire to interfere with their Religion or Caste and that nothing has been, or will be done by the Government to affect the free exercise of the observances of Religion or Caste by every class of the people. The Government of India has never deceived its subjects therefore the Governor General in Council now calls upon them to refuse their belief to seditious lies. This notice is addressed to those who hitherto, by habitual loyalty and orderly conduct have shown their attachment to the Government and a well founded faith in its protection and justice.

The Governor General in Council enjoins all such persons to pause before they listen to false Guides and Traitors who would lead them into danger and disgrace.

The Calcutta Volunteer Guards the Bengal Yeomanry Cavalry

The feeling of insecurity was so great in Calcutta in the month of June that, with some hesitation the Governor General yielded to the demand for the enrolment of Volunteers and on the 13th the following Notification was issued—

"The Right Hon'ble the Governor General in Council has received from the inhabitants of Calcutta many offers to serve as Volunteers in aid of the Authority of Government and for the preservation of the Security and Order of the City should any attempt at disturbance take place therein. The Governor General in Council accepts these offers, and in doing so, he desires to express the warm acknowledgments of the Government to those who have so zealously tendered to it their support. Accordingly all persons willing to serve in the Corps of Volunteer Guard of Calcutta, either as Horsemen or on Foot and to place themselves as members of that Force at the disposal of the Government are hereby invited to enrol their names and places of residence at the office of the Town Major in Fort William. The Governor General in Council has been pleased to appoint Lieutenant Colonel Orfeur Cavanagh to the Command of the Volunteer Guards. Arms, accoutrements and a plain uniform will be provided for each person enrolled.

The Corps consisted of a battery of 4 guns, 5 troops of cavalry and [illegible] companies of infantry. It answered every expectation and

most satisfactorily performed all the duties required of it It was broken up from the 1st June 1859, when the crisis had passed away and confidence had been restored, so that the necessity for a special corps to aid in the protection of Calcutta no longer existed and there was no further occasion to demand the time and services of the inhabitants for the purpose The Viceroy in the name of the Government of India, publicly acknowledged the services of the Volunteer Guards, and thanked them for the cheerful and hearty manner in which they had performed their duties at a great sacrifice of their time and convenience By another notification of the 23rd July 1857 the Bengal Yeomanry Cavalry Corps was formed as follows —

"The Governor-General in Council has reason to know that there are in Calcutta, Bengal, and the North-Western provinces, many Englishmen and others whose peaceable avocations have been interrupted by the disturbed state of the country, and who, although in no way connected with the Government, are willing and eager to give an active support to its authority at the present time by sharing service in the field with the Troops of the Queen and of the East India Company

The Governor-General in Council has thorough confidence in the loyalty, courage, and enterprizing zeal of the community to which he refers, and he is satisfied that service, rendered in the spirit in which they are ready to give it, will be most valuable to the state

With the view of availing himself of such service in the most effectual manner, His Lordship in Council directs that a Corps of Cavalry be formed, to be called the "Bengal Yeomanry Cavalry," and to be equipped and prepared for duty in the disturbed districts

The Regiment will be constituted as follows —1 Major (Commandant) 1 Captain (Second in Command) 1 Adjutant 4 Lieutenants 8 Cornets 1 Medical Officer 200 Men The Regiment will be divided into 4 Troops 1 Lieutenant and 2 Cornets to be attached to each Troop

Those who enlist will be provided by the Government with a horse, arms, uniform, accoutrements, and tents

The Corps, although in spirit a Volunteer Corps, will receive pay at the following rates —Each Trooper Rs 100 a month, as provision for man and horse Cornets, Rs 160 each a month Lieutenants, Rs 250 each a month Second in Command, Rs 500 a month The Major, the Adjutant, and the Medical Officer will be taken from the Army of Bengal.

The rank of Captain (Second in command) is conferred by the

Governor-General in Council upon Mr F C Chapman, whose gallant and energetic service as a Volunteer in the North Western Provinces marks him as eminently qualified to hold it. The Lieutenants and Cornets will be chosen by the members of the Corps from amongst them selves, subject to the approval of the Governor General in Council. The enlistment will be for one year with the understanding that, should the Governor-General in Council require it, service is to be continued for a second year The retirement of any member of the Corps, before the expiry of one year will take place only with the permission of the Governor-General in Council.

The widows of those who may fall in action will receive life pensions the widows of troopers and cornets at the rate assigned to the widows of Ensigns in the Army the widows of the Lieutenants and Captain, at the rates assigned to those ranks in the Army

P nic Sunday

The feeling of alarm in Calcutta culminated on Panic Sunday" the 14th June, which has been described by Kaye and Malleson The panic has been declared to have been groundless and unreasonable but of its existence there can be no doubt, as I have heard from men who were in Calcutta at the time Numbers of people in higher and lower positions sought refuge in Fort William and on board the ships in the port, and it devolved chiefly on the Town Major to reassure them and induce them to return to their own houses.

Press Act.

Among the measures required to deal with the crisis caused by the mutinies it became at an early date necessary to pass a Press Act. On the 13th of June 1857, a Bill was introduced by Lord Canning himself into the Legislative Council and on the same day became Act XV of 185 an Act to regulate the establishment of Printing Presses and to restrain in certain cases the circulation of printed books and papers. It passed without a dissentient voice and temporarily placed the Indian Press very much in the position in which it was permanently before Sir Charles Metcalfe's Government in 1835 passed Act XI of that year whereby complete liberty was given to it. It may be mentioned in pa sing that on the 1st of February 1836 the Court of Directors reprimanded the Governor General in Council for pa sing an Act releasing the Pre s from res rict ns and recorded their opinion that the passing of such an Act without a reference at home was who ly indefen ible but they al tained

from disallowing it The framers of Act XI of 1835 when arguing in favour of the liberty of the Press in India in the ordinary state of things, recognized not only the right but the bounden duty of the Government to suspend that liberty on the possible occurrence of certain emergencies, when such a measure might become necessary for the safety of the State An emergency of the nature contemplated having arisen, and one, it was confidently assumed, very much graver than was thought in 1835 to be within the range of probability, Act XV of 1857 was passed in the belief (confirmed by the opinions of officers of the highest character engaged at the moment in distant Provinces in supporting the British cause) that the unregulated freedom of the Press at the then pending crisis was tending strongly to the extension of revolt and the weakening of the British power

The Act prohibited the keeping or using of Printing Presses without license from the Government. The Government took discretionary power to grant licenses, subject to such conditions (if any) as were thought fit, it was also empowered to revoke at any time the licenses granted The publication or circulation in India of newspapers books, or other printed papers, of any particular description, might also be prohibited by order of the Government The Act made no distinction between the English and native Press There were, when it passed, more than one newspaper in the English language written, owned, and published by natives, almost exclusively for circulation among native readers, and although no fear was entertained that treasonable matter would be designedly published in any English newspaper, yet it was deemed desirable to guard in those times against errors in discretion and temper, as well as intentional sedition The Act was applicable not only to Bengal but to all India Its duration was limited to one year, which expired on the 13th June 1858 The licenses above mentioned were given on certain conditions, the violation of any of which enabled Government to seize the types and presses of the offender The conditions were as follows —application for licenses to keep or use any printing press or types or other materials and articles for printing within the town of Calcutta were to be made to the Commissioner of Police, and the Commissioner was to forward a copy of every such application to the Government of India, in the Home

Department, from whence licenses were to be issued The Lieutenant-Governor was authorised to grant licenses outside Calcutta and to appoint any person to receive applications for such licenses in any part of Bengal. The conditions upon which licenses to keep or use any printing press or types or other materials or articles for printing were ordinarily to be granted were —

"That no book, pamphlet, newspaper or other work printed at such press, or with such materials or articles, shall contain any observations or statements impugning the motives or designs of the British Government either in England or in India, or in any way tending to bring the said Government into hatred or contempt, to excite disaffection or unlawful resistance to its orders, or to weaken its lawful authority or the lawful authority of its civil or military servants

"That no such book, pamphlet, newspaper or other work shall contain observations or statements having a tendency to create alarm or suspicion among the native population of any intended interference by Government with their religious opinions and observances

"That no such book, pamphlet, newspaper or other work shall contain observations having a tendency to weaken the friendship towards the British Government of native princes, chiefs, or states in dependence upon or alliance with it."

The above conditions were to apply equally to original matter and to matter copied from other publications

On 29th June it was resolved to warn the publisher of the newspaper called *The Friend of India* against a repetition of remarks of the dangerous nature of those in an article of the 25th June on the Centenary of Plassey" Subsequently the Law Officers of the Government were directed to take the necessary steps for bringing the Printers and publishers of the *Durbin* the *Sultan ul Akhbar* and the *Samachar Sudhabarshan* to trial before the Supreme Court on a charge of publishing seditious libels True bills were found by the grand Jury at the Sessions against the defendants but the Advocate General was authorised not to press for punishment if the defendants connected with the two former papers would plead guilty and express contrition for their offence This course was accordingly adopted the defendants pleaded guilty and were discharged after entering into recognisances to appear and receive judgment when called upon. The third defendant was prosecuted on the charge brought against him, but the trial resulted in a verdict

of not guilty On 3rd July, the press called *Gulshan-i-nau-bahar* was seized, the paper of that name having published malignant articles On 10th September the *Hurkaru* was warned and on the 18th suppressed, but, on an apology from the poprietor, the license was restored Prominence has been given to this temporary Press Act, as it was required more for Bengal and Calcutta than for Upper India, owing to the comparatively advanced development of journalism in the Lower Provinces It was called "the Gagging Act and aroused a storm of indignation in the European community, on the ground that the European Press had been brought under the same restrictions as the native Press This was the deliberate intention of the Governor General who was himself in charge of the Bill In introducing the measure in the Legislative Council on the 13th June, he said that he saw no reason, and did not consider it possible in justice, to draw any line of demarcation between European and native publications

It is not necessary to make more than the briefest enumeration of the other Mutiny Acts, all passed in June 1857, originally for one year, but subsequently extended until the end of 1859 They were — No XIV—to make further provision for the trial and punishment of certain offences relating to the army, and of offences against the State No XVI—to make temporary provision for the trial and punishment of heinous offences in certain districts · No XVII—to provide temporarily for the apprehension and trial of native officers and soldiers for Mutiny and desertion It was under Act XVI of 1857 (and under the old Regulation X of 1804) that Martial Law was proclaimed in the whole Patna Division on the 30th July and in the whole Chota Nagpur Division on the 10th August 1857, the functions of the ordinary Criminal Courts being thereupon suspended in those Divisions in respect of heinous offences Early in September Government ordered the Civil and Military authorities in all districts in which martial law had been proclaimed, and in the Bhagalpur Division, to send away all European women and children of every class to Calcutta, if possible, or at any rate to some station below Rajmahal and none were allowed to go there On Sunday the 4th October a Day of Special Prayer was observed in each Presidency under a Proclamation of the Governor-General It has been remarked that, at the time of their greatest need, the

Government of India bound themselves to proceed by legal measures in the punishment of offenders against the State and disturbers of the public peace

Though the general history of the Mutinies including those in *Upper India, does not come within the range of this work, it is* necessary that some account should be given of the most important series of events in Lower Bengal of the last half of the XIXth century and this cannot be presented in better form than in the Minute dated the 30th. September 1858 recorded by Sir F Halliday as Lieutenant-Governor on the mutinies as they affected the Lower Provinces under the Government of Bengal 1858' No apology is required I think, for reproducing at length so interesting a State paper It forms an Appendix to this Chapter

Removal of Mr W Tayler from the Commissionership of Patna.

In the section headed Bihar Division" in his Minute on the Mutinies in Lower Bengal Sir F Halliday alluded briefly to the occurrences at Patna which led to the removal of Mr W Tayler C S. from his post of Commissioner of *Patna* and the appointment of Mr E. A Samuells C S in his place For some time Mr Tayler's *actions and reticence had impaired his credit with the Government* the climax was reached when his order of the 31st July 1857 was issued, withdrawing the officers from the out stations The decision of Sir F Halliday to remove him from his Commissionership was conveyed to Mr Tayler on the 4th August 1857 and concurred in by the Governor General in Council on the 18th idem A discussion then commenced composed of minutes memorials and despatches &c which in volume and vigour has probably never been equalled in the annals of official literature I have come across over 500 pages of printed matter Mr Tayler never ceased to plead his case up to the highest tribunals and never acknowledged defeat. The whole affair has been the subject of much controversy Mr Tayler's side was strongly taken by Sir J W Kaye * and by Colonel G B Malleson † It is not my intention to weigh all that has been written or to offer an opinion on the question whether Mr Tayler was hardly treated or only received his deserts Any attempt to do

* Vol III Book VII Chapters II and IV of Kaye's History of the Sepoy War

† Vol I Book VII Chapter II of his History of the Indian Mutiny

so would require a separate treatise to itself The whole matter was, in reality, of no very great moment, but it was vested with a fictitious importance at the time in Calcutta by the agitation which was sedulously raised and kept alive, and by the hostility of the local daily papers to the Government it was very differently regarded when the case reached England Leaving those who are concerned with Mr. Tayler's defence to study the pages of Kaye and Malleson, I must be content with indicating the course of the correspondence, and referring to one or two of Sir F Halliday's Minutes on the case That of the 5th August 1857 was laid before the Governor-General in Council who entirely concurred in Sir F Halliday's condemnation of Mr Tayler's conduct in ordering the Civil officers of the several districts of the Division to abandon their posts and fall back upon Dinapore, and in the propriety of his removal.

In reply to the orders for his removal Mr Tayler submitted a long explanation of 119 paragraphs dated the 22nd August to the Lieutenant-Governor, and sent a copy with an appeal to the Government of India, besides addressing the Private Secretary to the Governor-General On the 10th September the Lieutenant-Governor declined to reinstate him About this time Mr. Tayler caused to be printed in Calcutta, for private circulation, his "Brief narrative of events" connected with his removal from the Commissionership of Patna When they passed orders on the 23rd December on the appeal, the Government of India retained their opinion that the state of affairs did not justify Mr. Tayler in ordering the Civil Officers to abandon their stations, and that Sir F. Halliday was thoroughly justified in removing him on the 4th. August, on the ground that at so critical a period the Division could not safely be left in his charge They could not, they wrote, too strongly condemn Mr Tayler's order to Major Eyre, desiring him not to advance to the relief of Arrah They also severely censured Mr Tayler for printing and circulating his "Brief narrative &c" and other official correspondence, as being an elaborate attack upon the Lieutenant-Governor, and disrespectful in its tone they also entirely declined to order the Government of Bengal to employ him temporarily or otherwise On the 29th January 1858 Mr E. A Samuells (who had succeeded Mr W Tayler as Commissioner), addressed Government (81 paragraphs), defending himself against the severe reflections

made in Mr Tayler's pamphlet on his administration of the affairs of the Patna Division On the following 17th. March Sir F Halliday recorded a minute (123 paragraphs) on Mr Tayler's "Brief narrative &c" On the 3rd and 8th April 1858 Mr Tayler wrote to the Government of Bengal two letters of 303 and 53 paragraphs, remonstrating against Mr Samuells' letter of the 29th. January and against the publication of the latter by the Lieutenant Governor in a Blue book and at his request they were laid before the Government of India, who forwarded them to the Court of Directors Mr Tayler having appealed to the Government in England against the Government of India's decision the Court of Directors gave their judgment (against him) on the 11th August 1858 Mr Tayler was subsequently appointed Judge of Mymensingh but at the instance of the Government of India (21st. January 1859) was suspended for the second time, by the Lieutenant Governor for his "insufferably offensive conduct," and resigned the service on the 29th March 1859 Mr Tayler applied to every Secretary of State in succession from 1857 to 1888 for a reconsideration of his case for a public and suitable recognition of his services as Commissioner of Patna in 1857 for a cancellation of the condemnation passed on him for honorary distinction for pecuniary compensation and for redress of his alleged wrongs. In every instance the appeal was rejected after consideration He induced the House of Commons to hear his case in 1888 and after debate it was rejected by an overwhelming majority only 22 members voting for it, and there it ended

Death of Bishop Wilson.

The length of his episcopacy his great age and his general personality combined to give the Right Reverend Daniel Wilson Lord Bishop of Calcutta and Metropolitan of India, a position of great eminence and when he died on the 2nd January 1858 it was felt that a leader of men had passed away Some space must be devoted to one who was so long a conspicuous character in Bengal He was born on 2nd July 1778 his father being a silk manufacturer in Spitalfields He was apprenticed to his uncle in business in his eighteenth year he felt a call to religion which resulted in his being entered at St Edmund's Hall Oxford After taking his degree he became successively Curate of Chobham Surrey Tutor of St. Edmund's Hall 1 1 1? Assistant and Incumbent of St John's Church Bedford Row

London, 1809-1823 Vicar of Islington, 1823-32 The Bishopric of Calcutta was offered to him in March 1832, and early in November he arrived in Calcutta, in the 55th year of his age He found many matters that required immediate settlement in connection with the religious and charitable institutions of the Presidency, and entered on his work with a zeal and energy which he never relaxed His tours throughout India and Ceylon were long and repeated and extended moreover to the Straits, Singapur and Malacca On one of these tours he left Bombay at the commencement of 1836 and marched up to Simla, arriving there on the 3rd June On the 8th October 1839 he laid the foundation stone of St Paul s Cathedral at Calcutta and consecrated it on the same day of the year 1847 He himself gave nearly one-third of the total amount of seven and a half *lakhs* subscribed towards it His liberality was princely throughout his episcopate It was apparently in 1849 that the Bishop's residence was transferred by him from Russell Street to Chowringhi The caste question among native Christians in Madras, which was causing much trouble, he treated with a firm hand, insisting on its absolute abandonment Besides dealing energetically with all Church matters, he found time to advocate Steam communication with India At one time he was described as the champion of Evangelicalism In his charges he made some bold and uncompromising denouncements of Tractarianism He dreaded theory, it was said, and felt that he must act, doing the work of the Church His punctuality and business habits remained to the last Lord Dalhousie spoke of him to Lord Canning as "the best man of business he had to do with in India" Numerous anecdotes testified to the originality of his character he had a peculiar mannerism which amounted almost to eccentricity and he allowed himself a directness of personal remark which in another speaker might have been termed rudeness He had resolved to end his days in India On the 4th January 1858 he was buried in the vault at the east end of the Cathedral

Thanks of Parliament and the Court of Directors

While the Mutiny was still unsubdued, the House of Lords on the 16th March 1858 passed a unanimous Resolution, adding the name of Sir F Halliday to a previous Resolution of the 8th February, in which they had accorded the thanks of that House to the Governor-General and

others for the energy and ability with which they have employed the resources at their command to suppress the widely spread mutiny in Her Majesty's Indian Dominion." The House of Commons passed a similar vote of thanks to the Lieutenant Governor on the same day The Court of Directors and a General Court of the East India Company had on the 10th and 17th February respectively recorded Resolutions in the same terms These were all officially communicated through the Lord Chancellor the Speaker the Court and the Governor General to Sir F Halliday Again on the 4th August 1858 the Court of Directors in a despatch reviewing the narratives of the Lieutenant Governor from the revolt of the troops at Segowlie and Dinapore in July to the close of 1857 expressed their opinions on some of the principal occurrences of the mutiny in Bengal which have been mentioned in Sir F Halliday's Minute "We are glad to observe that the admirable conduct of Mr A Money and Mr Hollings in remaining at Gaya notwithstanding the order of the Commissioner thereby saving the Government Treasury and for the time preserving the peace of the district has been rewarded by promotion to a higher office in the case of Mr Money and by an increase of salary in that of Mr Hollings, who had already reached the highest grade in that branch of the Uncovenanted Service to which he is attached

"We have perused with the greatest interest Mr Wake's account of the gallant defence at Arrah by the European residents and 50 Sikhs of Captain Rattray's Corps against three revolted Regiments of Native Infantry We have already in our Despatch in this Department No. 155 dated 16th December 1857 adverted to the conduct of Mr Boyle the Engineer in the service of the East Indian Railway Company and it is only because we have called for a list of those Civilians who have particularly distinguished themselves during the recent disturbances that we abstain from more prominently noticing him on the present occasion together with the gallant conduct of Mr Wake and those who shared with him in the remarkable defence which forms the subject of his report We entirely approve of the rewards conferred upon the small band of Sikhs whose courage endurance and fidelity so greatly contributed to the safety of the Garrison and it is with the highest gratification that we have noticed the loyalty and discipline of the

recently formed Corps to which these men belonged, and the important services it has rendered under its Commandant Captain Rattray, in protecting no inconsiderable portion of the Province of Bihar

"On the appointment of Mr. Samuells to succeed Mr. Tayler, Munshi Amir Ali was appointed to be Special Assistant to the Commissioner of Patna, and Deputy Magistrate under Act XV of 1843, in all the districts of the Patna Division

"This last appointment, as observed by the Lieutenant-Governor, "has been a good deal cavilled at," we are of opinion however that the Lieutenant-Governor has shewn good and sufficient reason for it, and the excellent service rendered by Munshi Amir Ali is the best justification of the Government in selecting him for the important office which he held at Patna The marginal extract from the letter of the late Acting Commissioner Mr Farquharson to the Commissioner dated 23rd October 1857, contains very strong evidence as to the sound policy of the measure

"I may perhaps be allowed here to state that Amir Ali's appointment was, in the opinion of those best able to judge and appreciate the tone of Patna native society, a highly politic, popular and useful measure The better classes of natives in this city have throughout these evil times displayed nothing but loyalty and good will to the British Government The appointment of Amir Ali, a native of the province, and known to each and all, either as personal legal adviser, or a successful pleader in the highest Court of Judicature, to assist the Commissioner in his early communications with those classes, was precisely what was required to allay fears which were daily gaining ground and strength, fears that the Government was bent on general and indiscriminate vengeance for the attrocities committed in other parts of India There is no calculating what might have been the danger or mischief of a spread of the belief among a credulous and timid population The fear was at once allayed by Amir Ali's advent, and not only has the real justice of the Government been made apparent to the native mind, but its vast power and resources, not half understood or believed by the people, were made real and credible to all

"The arduous task of preserving order in the district of Saran was committed to Kazi Ramzan Ali, who was authorised by the Commissioner to exercise magisterial powers until the return of the constituted authorities The Kazi was left in charge of the district for a fortnight, and the Commissioner reports that during that period, he "faithfully performed the duties allotted to him, and under very trying circumstances continued to preserve order and tranquillity" We trust you at once conferred on the Kazi some substantial mark of your approbation of services of so devoted a character at a very critical juncture Eminent services have also been rendered by many others of our native subjects possessing authority and influence among their countrymen Of these we may specially notice the

Maharaja of Bettia and Shah Kabiruddin Ahmad of Sasseram in the Shahabad district, for their zealous exertions from the commencement of the disturbances the Nawab Nazim of Bengal for the assistance rendered by him on the occasion of the disarming of the city of Murshidabad and Parganait Jagat Pal Sing of whom the Lieutenant Governor remarks that in arresting the progress of the mutineers of the 8th Native Infantry at Pittoria he in all human probability saved the lives of the whole of the European Officers on their retreat from Ranchi to Hazaribagh" You have directed the thanks of the Government to be communicated to the above named persons, and of this we approve We are glad to observe however that the Lieutenant Governor has directed the proper local authorities within his jurisdiction to furnish a list of all such persons as may have been known to have distinguished themselves in the service or for the benefit of the British Government from the commencement of the present troubles and we suggest for your consideration whether on the close of the disturbances and when the list shall be complete it would not be a measure as well of policy as of justice to recognize in a more public and where circumstances render it appropriate a more substantial manner than has yet been done such services as those to which we have referred.

About the middle of September Mr J R Ward Commissioner for the suppression of *Dacoity* a very active and intelligent officer was appointed Superintendent of carriage and supplies for troops marching in the Lower Provinces of Bengal and was furnished by the Local Government with very full instructions as to the nature and extent of his duties In the discharge of those duties the Superintendent was warmly supported by the Government and the success which attended the arrangements made by Mr Ward and his assistants for procuring supplies for the troops is sufficiently manifest from the fact that a force of 20 000 men (almost wholly Europeans) "passed along the Grand Trunk Road from Raniganj to Benares a distance of nearly 300 miles and had been so well satisfied with the arrangements made for their supplies that not a dozen complaints of any sort had been preferred and some of th[illegible] of the most trivial character" notwithstanding that every facility for preferring complaints was afforded. We appreciate most highly the excellent services performed by Mr Ward and we lament [illegible]

that an illness, which compelled that Officer to relinquish his post, has since terminated fatally

"At para 8 of our despatch No 155, dated 16th. December last, we have expressed our approval of your application to the Legislature for an Act to regulate the importation, manufacture, and sale, of arms, and the right to keep and use them We have since received a copy of the Act which was passed on the 11th September 1857, and is to continue in force for a period of two years from the date of its enactment Exception has been taken to this Act as being too general in its provisions, embracing all classes of persons, and confounding "the loyal with murderers, mutineers, and rebels" We cannot admit the force of this objection We concur with you that no one class could have been excepted in express terms from all liability to the provisions of the Act, without doing injustice to others equally well affected towards the Government, and we approve of your having framed the Act in general terms, so as to render it applicable to all classes of the community, leaving it to the executive to discriminate as to the exceptions to be made when carrying its provisions into execution A full power of exemption, in respect to such persons as it may think fit, is given to the Government, and, as observed by the Vice-President when introducing the Bill into the Legislative Council, the operation of the exemption clause will be extended "to all Europeans, East Indians, many educated native gentlemen, the Parsi gentry and community, and other sections of the general community, of whose loyalty no doubt can exist."

"We cannot conclude our review of the proceedings which have now come under our consideration without expressing the high sense we entertain of the manner in which the Lieutenant-Governor of the Lower Provinces has discharged the duties of his office, during an eventful period We may instance in particular his prompt and energetic measures in providing and superintending an effective agency for the transport of troops, in repressing alarm in the Presidency and adjacent districts, in meeting pressing emergencies in scenes of actual or threatened disturbance, and in maintaining order in many parts of the extensive territories subject to his authority The thanks of Parliament and of the Court of Proprietors will ere this have been conveyed to Mr. Halliday, and to these we would add our

own acknowledgments for the important services which he has rendered."

A brief notice is required of the 'Act for the better Government of India," 21 and 22 Vic. c 106 (1858) which after the Mutinies, enacted that the territories previously in the possession and under the Government of the East India Company should henceforth be governed by and in the name of Her Majesty and vested in Her Majesty all the territories and powers of the Company It was passed on the 2nd of August 1858 and took effect thirty days after It specially affected the Lieutenant-Governorship of Bengal in this respect that Section 29 provided that the appointments of the Lieutenant Governors of provinces or territories shall be made by the Governor General of India subject to the approbation of Her Majesty and all such appointments shall be subject to the qualifications now by law affecting such offices respectively" A Proclamation was accordingly under Her Majesty's command issued from Allahabad on the 1st November 1858 by the Governor General, to the Princes, Chiefs and People of India, to notify the assumption of the Government of India by the Crown This Proclamation as an important event in the annals of Bengal is reproduced here as follows —

Assumption of the Government by the Crown.

VICTORIA,

By The Grace of God, of The United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, *and of the Colonies and Dependencies Thereof in Europe* Asia, Africa, America, and Australasia, Queen, Defender of the faith.

Whereas, for diverse weighty reasons, We have resolved, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords, Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, in Parliament assembled, to take upon ourselves the Government of the Territories in India heretofore administered in trust for Us by the Honourable East India Company

Now therefore, We do by these Presents notify and declare that, by the advice and consent aforesaid We have taken upon Ourselves the said Government and We hereby call upon all Our Subjects within the said Territories to be faithful, and to bear true allegiance to Us, Our Heirs, and Successors, and to submit themselves to the authority of those whom We may hereafter from time to time see fit to appoint to administer the Government of our said Territories in Our name and on Our behalf

And We, reposing especial trust and confidence in the loyalty, ability and judgment of Our right trusty and well-beloved Cousin and Councillor, Charles John Viscount Canning, do hereby constitute and appoint him, the said Viscount Canning, to be Our first Viceroy and Governor-General in and over Our said Territories, and to administer the Government thereof in Our name, and generally to act in Our name and on Our behalf, subject to such Orders and Regulations as he shall, from time to time, receive from Us through one of Our Principal Secretaries of State

And we do hereby confirm in their several Offices, Civil and Military, all Persons now employed in the Service of the Honourable East India Company, subject to Our future pleasure, and to such Laws and Regulations as may hereafter be enacted

We hereby announce to the Native Princes of India that all Treaties and Engagements made with them by or under the authority of the Honourable East India Company are by Us accepted, and will be scrupulously maintained, and We look for the like observance on their part

We desire no extension of Our present territorial Possessions and while We will permit no aggression upon Our Dominions or Our Rights to be attempted with impunity, We shall sanction no encroachment on those of others We shall respect the Rights, Dignity, and Honor of Native Princes as Our own, and We desire that they, as well as Our own Subjects, should enjoy that Prosperity and that social Advancement which can only be secured by internal Peace and good Government

We hold Ourselves bound to the Natives of Our Indian Territories by the same Obligations of Duty which bind Us to all our other subjects, and those Obligations, by the Blessing of Almighty God, we shall faithfully and conscientiously fulfil

Firmly relying ourselves on the truth of Christianity, and acknowledging with gratitude the solace of Religion, we disclaim alike the Right and the desire to impose our convictions on any of our Subjects We declare it to be our Royal will and pleasure that none be in anywise favored, none molested or disquieted, by reason of their Religious Faith or Observances, but that all shall alike enjoy the equal and impartial protection of the Law, and we do strictly charge and enjoin all those who may be in authority under us that they abstain from all interference with the Religious Belief or Worship of any of Our Subjects, on pain of Our highest Displeasure

And it is Our further will that, so far as may be, Our Subjects, of whatever Race or Creed, be freely and impartially admitted to Offices in

our Service, the Duties of which they may be qualified, by their education, ability and integrity duly to discharge.

We know and respect, the feelings of attachment with which the Natives of India regard the Lands inherited by them from their Ancestors and We desire to protect them in all rights connected therewith, subject to the equitable demands of the State and We will that generally in framing and administering the Law due regard be paid to the ancient Rights, Usages, and Customs of India.

We deeply lament the evils and misery which have been brought upon India by the acts of ambitious Men, who have deceived their Countrymen by false reports, and led them into open Rebellion Our Power has been shown by the suppression of that Rebellion in the field We desire to show Our Mercy by pardoning the Offences of those who have been thus misled, but who desire to return to the path of Duty

Already in one Province, with a view to stop the further effusion of blood, and to hasten the Pacification of Our Indian Dominions, Our Viceroy and Governor General has held out the expectation of Pardon, on certain terms, to the great majority of those who, in the late unhappy Disturbances have been guilty of Offences against our Government, and has declared the Punishment which will be inflicted on those whose Crimes place them beyond the reach of Forgiveness We approve and confirm the said act of Our Viceroy and Governor General, and do further announce and proclaim as follows —

Our Clemency will be extended to all Offenders save and except those who have been, or shall be convicted of having directly taken part in the Murder of British Subjects. With regard to such, the demands of Justice forbid the exercise of Mercy

To those who have willingly given asylum to murderers knowing them to be such or who may have acted as Leaders or Instigators in Revolt, their Lives alone can be guaranteed but, in apportioning the Penalty due to such Persons, full consideration will be given to the circumstances under which they have been induced to throw off their Allegiance, and large indulgence will be shown to those whose Crimes may appear to have originated in too credulous acceptance of the false reports circulated by designing Men

To all others in arms against the Government, We hereby promise unconditional Pardon, Amnesty and Oblivion of all offence against Ourselves, Our Crown and Dignity on their return to their homes and peaceful pursuits.

It is Our Royal Pleasure that these terms of Grace and [illegible]

should be extended to all those who comply with their Conditions before the first day of January next

When, by the blessing of Providence, internal Tranquillity shall be restored, it is Our earnest Desire to stimulate the peaceful Industry of INDIA, to promote Works of Public Utility and Improvement, and to administer its Government for the benefit of all Our Subjects resident therein In their Prosperity will be Our Strength, in their Contentment, Our Security, and, in their Gratitude, Our best reward And may the God of all Power grant to Us, and to those in authority under Us, Strength to carry out these Our Wishes for the good of Our People.

This Proclamation was read by the Home Secretary from the platform at the top of the staircase on the North side of Government House, in the presence of Sir J P Grant, (then President of the Council), the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, &c, &c with appropriate ceremonial In the evening there was a general illumination of the town of Calcutta and of the ships in the port The Governor-General issued his own Proclmation at the same date from Allahabad, as follows —

Her Majesty the Queen having declared that it is Her gracious Pleasure to take upon Herself the Government of the British Territories in India, the Viceroy and Governor-General hereby notifies that from this Day all Acts of the Government of India will be done in the name of the Queen alone

From this Day all Men of every Race and Class who under the administration of the Honourable East India Company have joined to uphold the Honour and Power of England will be the Servants of the Queen alone

The Governor-General summons them, one and all, each in his degree, and according to opportunity, and with his whole heart and strength, to aid in fulfilling the gracious Will and Pleasure of the Queen, as set forth in Her Royal Proclamation

From the many Millions of Her Majesty's Native Subjects in India, the Governor-General will now and at all times exact a loyal Obedience to the Call which, in words full of Benevolence and Mercy, their Sovereign has made upon their Allegiance and Faithfulness

Her Majesty's Proclamation was received throughout British India and by the Native Princes with the greatest loyalty and in these demonstrations Her Majesty's Government saw "abundant promise of a peaceful and a prosperous future."

The great Land Acts of 1859

The last days of Sir F Halliday's term of office were occupied in the passing of laws with which he had been long and closely concerned as Lieutenant-Governor though the law (the Statute 16 and 17 Vic. c. 95) of 1853 did not name him as a Member of the Governor General's Legislative Council. So important a subject as the Recovery of Rent requires more than a passing reference Act X of 1859 (*to amend the law relating to the recovery of rent in the Presidency of Fort William in Bengal*)—an Act which has been called the Magna Charta of the *raiyat*—received the Governor General's assent on the 29th of April 1859 Mr E. Currie c s was the author of the measure and had charge of it in the Legislative Council as the representative Member for Bengal. Its object was to reform the whole of the existing system for the recovery of rents and the adjudication of questions connected therewith in Bengal The Act defined and settled several important questions connected with the relative rights of landlord and tenant, of which a definition and settlement had long been considered desirable and necessary Prior to the passing of the Act the law on this subject was so confused and imperfect and was scattered through such a vast number of Regulations and Acts that a revision and consolidation of it was admitted to be a matter of urgent necessity Landholders were empowered to enforce payment of their rents by distraint of the property of defaulters and by preferring summary suits before the Collector The Collector was also authorized to try summarily suits brought by under tenants to contest the demand of distrainers and suits for damages for illegal distraint. *Raiyats* were entitled to receive *pattas* for the lands cultivated by them and to have their rates of rent adjusted on certain defined principles penalties being prescribed for the exaction of any excess above the legal rate of rent or of any unauthorized cess. The law further recognized the right of all resident *raiyats* to the occupancy of the lands cultivated by them so long as they paid the established rent.

But the remedy in all these cases in the Lower Provinces at least was either by regular suit in the Civil Courts which to poor suitors, it was thought was a very inadequate remedy or by summary suits before Collectors in some of the several descriptions of cases between landlord and tenant. Section XX Regulation VII of

1822, indeed, empowered the Executive Government to invest Collectors with jurisdiction in all those cases But such jurisdiction had only been given to Collectors in the North-Western Provinces. The law relating to the right of *raiyats* to receive, from those to whom they paid rent, *pattas* or writings containing a statement of the quantity of land held, the annual rent of the land, and the conditions of the holding, also, the law relating to the adjustment of rates of rent, and the occupancy of land, and to the prevention of illegal exaction and extortion in connection with demands for rent, were re-enacted in a concise and distinct form in this Act In the spirit, though not within the letter, of the previous law, the new Act also declared landholders to be entitled to receive from their *raiyats* *kabulyats* or counterparts of the written engagements It was deemed just that, when a *raiyat* had a right to demand a *patta*, the landlord should have a right to demand a *kabulyat* It was for the interest of the *raiyat* himself that written engagements should be exchanged in all cases, and as, in a later part of the Act, distraint was allowed only when the distrainer held a *kabulyat*, it became necessary to provide landlords with the means of enforcing the delivery of such documents The Act provided a Code of Procedure for the trial of suits between landlord and tenants It was much discussed whether the adjudication of such suits should be by the ordinary Civil Courts or by the Collector's Courts Messrs Mills and Harington, in their Code of Civil Procedure, recommended that the Revenue Officers should have jurisdiction in all such cases, and they proposed that, in preference to the existing practice of a summary decision by the Collector, subject to a re-trial of the same matter by regular suit in the Civil Court, "the trial before the Revenue Court should constitute the original suit, in like manner as if the case had been brought as a regular Civil action, and that the summary decision passed in such cases shall be open to a regular appeal on the merits to the *zilla* Appeal Court"

This principle was adopted in Act X of 1859 The jurisdiction in all such cases was given to Collectors and certain of their Deputies and Assistants It was specially provided that no Deputy Collector should exercise judicial powers under the Act if entrusted with any police functions The Collector's judgment was to be final, if the amount sued for did not exceed Rs. 100. In all other

suits an appeal to the *zilla* Judge was provided unless the amount or value in dispute exceeded Rs. 5,000 in which case the appeal was to lie to the *Sadar* Court. Lastly the Act greatly restricted and at the same time imposed more effective checks on the power of distraint vested in landholders—a power which appeared to have been griev ously abused

At the same time Act XI of 1859 (*to improve the law relating to sales of land for arrears of Revenue in the Lower Provinces under the Bengal Presidency*), which had been introduced as a Bill so long before as December 1855, was passed on the 30th April by Sir J P Grant who as Member of Council was in charge of it, and it remains in force until the present time. The first important amendment which it effected in the former law was by discontinuing the practice of obtaining the previous sanction of the Board of Revenue to sales of estates for arrears of Revenue or other demands of Government in the Provinces of Cuttack so as to assimilate the system of collection in Cuttack to the system of collection in Bengal where the districts are permanently settled and where the process of sale is the only process whereas, in the provinces not permanently settled the process of sale was the last of several coercive measures resorted to for the collection of the revenue

The Act gave a mortgagee who might deposit money in order to save the estate mortgaged to him from sale (to the extinction of his lien) a further mortgage or lien upon the estate to the extent of the money so deposited by him

Another important alteration in the law was to enable sharers of joint estates held in common tenancy and holders of specific portions of the land of an entire estate to acquire the privilege of protecting their shares by paying up their own portion of the Government revenue whether the other sharers paid up their portion or not The Act provided that, when a recorded sharer desired to pay his portion of the Government revenue separately he might submit to the Collector a written application, specifying the nature and extent of his interest in the estate The Collector was then to cause the application to be published and if within six weeks from the date of publication no objection was made by any other recorded sharer the Collector would open a separate account with the applicant and credit separately to his share all payments made by him on a cour

thereof If any recorded proprietor objected to the application, the Collector was to refer the parties to the Civil Court, and suspend proceedings until the question at issue was judicially determined The Act at the same time provided that, where the highest offer for a share exposed to sale for arrears of revenue was not equal to the amount due upon it, the Collector must stop the sale, and declared that the entire estate would be put up to sale for arrears of revenue, unless the other sharers, within 10 days, purchased the defaulter's share by paying to Government the whole amount due upon it

The Act enabled a proprietor of an estate, by the deposit of money or Government securities, to preserve his estate, from all risk of sale by reason of any accident or neglect on the part of an agent It remedied a defect in that part of the old law which provided that, in case of repeated default, the difference between the sum bid by each defaulting bidder and the actual sale price should be levied and credited to the former proprietor, whereas all that he was entitled to was the difference between the highest bid and the actual sale price.

The Act made provision for giving the purchaser at an auction-sale possession of his purchase, it restricted the annulment of a sale for irregularity to those cases only in which the irregularity had occasioned injury to the proprietor, and rendered compulsory, under penalty of forfeiture of all benefit therefrom, the execution of a final decree of a Civil Court annulling a sale, as well as the repayment, with interest, by the party obtaining execution, of any surplus purchase-money paid away by order of a Civil Court, within 6 months from the date of such final decree

But the most important alteration in the law which the Act effected was by enforcing the registration of under-tenures created subsequently to the Permanent Settlement The Bill, as introduced, proposed to render compulsory the registration of all under-tenures, those created before as well as those created after the Permanent Settlement It was very strongly urged, however, that in the case of ante-settlement tenures, which were already protected by the existing law, registration ought not to be made a condition of protection in case of any future sale of the estate, and in accordance with this view the Act provided that the registration of such tenures should be entirely at the option of the holder With regard to post-settle-

ment tenures several plans were proposed for protecting them. According to the plan adopted by the Act there were to be two registers, one for common registry and the other for special registry In the common register tenures to the registration of which no objection was preferred after due notice were to be registered without inquiry the effect of such registry being to protect the tenure in all cases except the remote contingency of a purchase by Govern ment In the special register tenures were to be registered after inquiry as to the sufficiency of the rent to secure the Government revenue. The effect of special registry would be to give absolute security in all circumstances. The registry might be common or special according to the application of the holder of the tenure, and in cases of special registry all the expenses of the inquiry ordered to be made were to be paid by the applicant.

Lord Canning's minute on the Mutiny services of officers.

Lord Canning's final Minute dated July 2nd 1859 regarding the services of Civil Officers and others during the Mutiny and rebellion dealt with all India and though it was not published until Sir F Halliday had left India, extracts from it may well be given here with reference to him and other Bengal officers

"The bloodshed, strife, and general disorganisation consequent upon the Mutiny of the Bengal army which declared itself two years ago, are drawn to a close.

Here and there a few bands of turbulent and disaffected marauders still remain in arms but there is no unity among the enemies of the State, and, although the complete and universal security which prevailed before the out break has not in all places returned, there is no part of the Queen's Indian possessions to which Civil Government has not been restored

A day of solemn thanksgiving for this happy result has been appointed.

This being so it becomes my grateful duty to bring to the notice of Her Majesty's Secretary of State the names of those earnest devoted men, by whose abilities, sound judgment and unexampled labours, the Civil authority of the British Government has been upheld or re established.

Although Civilians by profession, [illegible] for the time Civil [illegible] the duties which they have performed have been, for the most part, [illegible] of peril and toil.

Only some few of them have been called on occasionally to take part in the operations of the army, and have thereby had the satisfaction of seeing honor done to their names in the Gazettes of the day, but there are others who have been distinguished by conduct in front of an enemy which would make any army proud of them

They have organised levies and led them, defended stations, kept in check large disaffected communities, re-assured the wavering, and given confidence to the loyal

Many of them have, in the service of the State, carried their lives in their hands for months together

The position has been such as to try not only their physical courage, but the judgment, intelligence and self-reliance of each individual, and to keep these qualities unceasingly on the strain

The most anxious part of their long task is now at an end, and I confidently claim for them from Her Majesty's Government the same respect, admiration and gratitude as have been so deservedly bestowed upon their fellow-labourers of the army

The return which accompanies this minute shews some of the services of those who have been most actively engaged, but very briefly and imperfectly

I will speak first of Bengal

The value of the services rendered by the late Lieutenant-Governor, Mr Halliday, is as well known to the Home Government as to myself With a charge of enormous extent and responsibility, and called upon to take a large share of the work by which troops and munitions of war were forwarded from Calcutta to other local Governments, Mr Halliday was the right hand of the Government of India for many months The efficient aid given by Mr Halliday to the Government, the watchfulness and sound judgment which marked his advice in regard to affairs within his own jurisdiction, and the promptitude and completeness with which he carried out all the precautionary and defensive measures sanctioned by the Government of India, effectually checked the spread of rebellion in Bengal

And although in this province the people are, far the most part, less warlike and turbulent than those of Upper India, there are in it many dangerous centres of fanaticism and many wide, and not easily accessible tracts where an outburst of rebellion would have sorely crippled the small means at the disposal of Government, and where peace was to be maintained more by good management than by show of force

As the head of the Government, I feel myself deeply indebted to Mr Halliday for his most useful aid, and I confidently trust that the Secretary of State will not be forgetful of his service

Of the officers of the Bengal Government who have been brou ht to notice by Mr Halliday I wish to recommend to the favorable con sideration of Her Majesty's Government, Mr G Yule, the Commissioner of Bhagalpur Mr A Money Magistrate of Shahabad and Gaya, whose good service has already attracted the notice of the Home Government Mr S Wauchope, Commissioner of Police in Calcutta, who had a most irksome and difficult post, and has discharged the duties fearlessly and excellently Mr E. A Samuells, the late Commissioner of Patna; and Mr H C Wake, Magistrate of Shahabad.

The following officers have also well deserved the notice of Her Majesty's Government —Mr W J Allen Member of the Board of Revenue, on deputation at Cherra Punji; Mr G F Cockburn, Com missio r of Cuttack M R L Mangles, Assistant in Shahabad Mr E. Jackson, the Sup rintendent of supplies on the Trunk road; Mr C Hollings, Sub Deputy Opium Agent at Gaya; Mr F B. Drummond, Magistrate of Purnea Mr E McDonnel Sub Deputy Opium Agent in Saran; Mr E. Baker Deputy Magistrate of Sasseram Mr C Carnac, Magistrate of Dacca Mr W F McDonell Magis trate of Saran, attached to Sir E. Lugard's column; Mr J D Gordon, Assistant Magistrate of Jalpaiguri Mr W Brodhurst, Magistrate of Shahabad Mr Garstin Deputy Magistrate of Sasseram; Mr Boyle Mr R. de Courcy Mr J Cockburn, and Mr J Wemyss gentlemen not connected with the Government but who have given to it valuable aid and Mr J Todhunter and Mr W M Intyre, both of the Tele graph Department.

In respect of military officers in Civil employ I have to call to notice the excellent services of Captain Dalton Commissioner at Chota Nagpur of Lieutenant J Graham, Assistant Commissioner in Palamau; of Lieutenant Birch, Assistant Commissioner of Chota Nagpur; Lieute nant R Stuart, Superintendent of Cachar and Lieutenant K. Stanton Executive Engineer of the Grand Trunk Road at Shergati

Of the value of the assistance received from Mr A R. Young Secretary to the Government of Bengal, Mr Halliday has spoken forcibly I can add nothing to what he said on this head, but I have pleasure in confirming it.

Reply to Farewell Address.

On the eve of his departure an address was presented to the retiring Lieutenant Governor at Belvedere by a number of representative native gentlemen of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa it was couched in general terms commendatory of his administration Sir F Halliday replied as follows —

"I thank you for the address which you have presented to me; I

thank you that, now at the close of my public career, when power and patronage are falling from my hands and no one has any thing to gain or lose from my good or ill will, you have come forward to bear weighty and valuable testimony, that, during my long service in India, you believe me to have had constantly in view the comfort and happiness of the people of this country, and to have striven to the best of my knowledge and ability, earnestly, zealously, and faithfully to promote their moral and material welfare Such testimony coming at one and the same time from numerous persons of great knowledge and experience and of different creeds and ranks and walks of life in many and various parts of the wide territory over which I have exercised authority, cannot but be gratifying to me, and I accept it with as much pride as pleasure

"However, anxiously I may have labored, I am far from imagining that I have succeeded in every effort for the benefit of this country, but I am encouraged by the favorable sentiments expressed in this address, to look back with satisfaction, more than I have hitherto ventured to allow myself, on some things in which I have succeeded, and to some great and beneficial measures in which I have been privileged to bear a not insignificant part

"You know that it is rarely given to Governments, least of all perhaps to the Governments of this country, to accomplish improvements without great discussions, great differences, great deliberation, and consequently great delay The measure which is completed to-day and gratifies you by its fair promise of wide-spreading benefit, arose not, you may be sure, from a proposition of yesterday, but it is the fruit of seeds sown by some now probably unknown hand many long years ago The five years allowed in the country as the ordinary limit of an administration may suffice indeed to sow such seeds and to labor anxiously in their cultivation, but the harvest is rarely reaped by the hands which sowed them, and he is fortunate in such a position as mine who shall see his own measures in mature operation before his very name shall have passed away from remembrance for ever But though this lot has largely fallen on me, I may yet hope to hear my name coupled hereafter with some important improvements

"If your rural and stipendiary police, from being a curse to the country, shall hereafter become a blessing, the day may come when you will remember that for 20 years I laboured incessantly towards that end, that I was not among the least prominent or the least vigorous denouncers of the abuses of the system, that I framed plans for its improvement and that I actually carried into first operation some momentous changes towards that purpose which cannot fail to produce large benefit at no distant day

"If your Civil Courts should come to be cleared of the complicated difficulties, expenses and delays which now beset them, and a simpler cheaper and more effective form of administering justice be at length promised to your wearied expectation, you may perhaps call to mind that I have never failed here or in England to contend for this great amelioration, that I have borne no inconsiderable share in the discussions regarding it, and that I have myself commenced the introduction of such reforms in places where I had the power to act on my own authority and was free to follow my own convictions.

"If again, among many other such instances to which I will not weary you by alluding the law of landlord and tenant is at last about to assume a juster and healthier aspect than it has ever done since the days of the Permanent Settlement it will be known at some future time that I first gave the impulse, which has led, under Mr Currie's admirable management, to the recent valuable enactment, and that, if the *raiyat* after long years of hopeless oppression has now a prospect of coming freedom and independence, he owes that prospect in some degree to my exertions

"I cannot look at the names appended to this address without observing that they are those of men, who, at a season of difficulty and disaster when many fell away from their allegiance, remained eminently constantly and honorably faithful to the British Crown and Dominion, and by that constancy exhibited in positions of influence and authority largely helped to maintain a whole territory loyal and faithful in the midst of doubt, panic and danger Thus have you shown far more forcibly than could be expressed by any words your contentment with the Government under which you live and thus have you taught me to value your approbation, as of men who, when they applaud the acts of those in authority over them have proved in practice that their appreciation is real and effective.

You may be assured that the deep interest I have ever felt for this country will not depart from my mind when I quit its shores, and that, whatever may be my future lot in life I shall never cease to think with affectionate remembrance of those who, for so many years, were to me as fellow-countrymen and shall omit no opportunity that may be offered me of promoting by speech or action their true welfare and prosperity

Sir F. Halliday a musician.

Sir F Halliday was a musician of unusual capacity as an amateur and used to perform on the [illegible] He gave several concerts at Belvedere and performed at them himself He kept up the practice of his favourite instrument

after he had retired to England, and his great stature made him a conspicuous figure in many an orchestra at the Crystal Palace and elsewhere An old Calcutta newspaper in a review of "*Court Life in India*" contained the following passage, which may be quoted, notwithstanding its style —"These were the days (1854-59) when Frederick Halliday was King of Bengal, and ruled and kept a court that reminded people of what they had read of that good old King René of Provence Sir Frederick was a devoted lover of music, and himself an accomplished instrumentalist "*Big-fiddle*" was the polite term by which the *Englishman* used to designate him, and on that instrument he assuredly had few amateur equals The concert nights at Belvedere were a great treat Sir Frederick had got together a powerful orchestra, composed of Secretaries, Under-Secretaries, Members of the Board, clerks, brokers, organists &c, who rendered the music of the masters in a style that would not have disgraced the best genius a *conservatoire* has ever turned out" It so happened that there was at that time a remarkable wealth of musical talent in Calcutta, which met with encouragement at Belvedere.

Retirement

Before relinquishing charge of the Lieutenant-Governorship to his successor on the 1st May 1859, Sir F Halliday had received the thanks of both Houses of Parliament for the energy, resolution, and administrative ability which he displayed as Lieutenant-Governor during the mutiny. He was created a (Civil) Knight Commander of the Order of the Bath in May 1860 for his services to the State. He was appointed a Member of the Council of the Secretary of State for India on the 30th September 1868, and held the position until the 31st December 1886 As he was appointed Member of Council under the Statute (21 and 22 Vic c 106) of 1858 'during good behaviour,' his appointment did not come under the operation of the Statute (32 and 33 Vic c 97) of 1869, which limited the tenure of that office ordinarily to 10 years, with a possibility of reappointment 'for special reasons of public advantage' for a further term of 5 years

K. C B.

Secretary of State's Council.

Sir F Halliday married in 1838 Eliza, daughter of General Paul Macgregor, E I C S, (she died 1886), and had a numerous family Their eldest son was Frederick Mytton Halliday, of the

Bengal Civil Service from 1886 to 1891 Commissioner of Patna, Member of the Board of Revenue and of the Governor General's Legislative Council

While these volumes were in preparation in 1900 I had the privilege of meeting Sir F Halliday then in his 94th year and to no one have I been more indebted for sound advice and kindly encouragement. With his faculties and memory unimpaired by age and with his unique experience no one person could have a greater knowledge of the history of Bengal as a whole than the first Lieutenant Governor

APPENDIX.*

THE MUTINIES AS THEY AFFECTED THE LOWER PROVINCES UNDER THE GOVERNMENT OF BENGAL, 1858

DURING the progress of the late mutinies, and the all-engrossing events which have characterised their progress in Upper and Central India, it is not unnatural that the provinces of Bengal and Bihar, which have been comparatively less disturbed, should have attracted less notice

It cannot, however, be supposed that these great provinces, connected in so many ways with the more disturbed districts, inhabited partly by a people cognate in manners, language, sympathies, and race with those of the North-Western Provinces—partly by tribes of ignorant and unenlightened savages, and everywhere, to some extent, occupied by portions of that army whose mutiny is at least the proximate cause of these disturbances,—can have altogether escaped the wide-spread contagion

Accordingly, it will be found that they have been the theatre of events similar in character, if not in importance and degree, to those which have convulsed the Upper and Central Provinces

The Province of Bihar has been most seriously and universally affected—the district of Shahabad was in some parts overrun by Koer Singh and the mutineers from Dinapore immediately after the outbreak at that station, and even then became the arena of more than one sanguinary combat, and of a most serious and disastrous repulse ,—whilst the station of Arrah, with its jail broken open, its convicts released, and its treasury plundered, was the scene of a defence and a relief which will bear comparison with any of the achievements called forth by the rebellion Nor was this unhappy district to escape further troubles After a period of comparative tranquillity, Koer Singh, defeated at Azimghar, himself wounded and dying, again crossed into Shahabad with what then seemed a broken and dispirited band of followers, without guns and with little ammunition , but again, under the influence of an almost unaccountable panic, was a British detachment to suffer a disastrous repulse with the loss of guns and ammunition And though these guns have since been recovered, though the rebel's force has been beaten with severe loss wherever it has been

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* See page 42

encountered, yet reinforced not only from across the Ganges, but from the discontented sepoy population of the district itself—hopeless of ultimate success, and thereby rendered more desperate—aided by its position in a dense jungle and by the more than usual heat of the sun, and under the leadership of the bold and determined rebel Ummer Singh—it has hitherto held its ground and resisted all attempts at dislodgement. The three districts—Champarun, Sarun and Tirhut—have all been more or less affected by the prevailing disturbances. In the first named district took place the mutiny of Holmes' Cavalry attended with more than ordinary circumstances of barbarous treachery. The whole of the three stations were temporarily abandoned, whilst they were long seriously threatened by the occupation of *Gorakpur under the usurping chakldar* Muhammad Hussain.

Tirhut also was at one time further menaced by the mutinous *sowars* from Jalpaiguri.

In these districts too, as in Shahabad, great uneasiness has been caused by the late successes of the rebels, and in Sarun much mischief has been done by roving bands of plunderers, of which, however the district is now free. In the district of Patna, the city itself in close proximity to the mutineers of Dinapore, was long a ground of apprehension, and subsequently the scene of a serious riot attended with loss of life.

Gaya, in the district of Bihar was, during the first outbreak, twice abandoned and once temporarily occupied by the rebels—the jail twice broken open and the prisoners set at liberty the treasure (a large amount) having been previously removed by the prompt energy of the Collector.

Again, during the second outbreak, was the jail for a third time *broken open, and great part of the district ravaged and plundered till* the rebel bands were completely broken and dispersed by Captain Rattray and a part of his Battalion.

In the Division of Bhagalpur and the Sonthal *Parganas* two separate mutinies occurred, the latter accompanied by savage murders.

The district of Purnea and the station itself were threatened by the Jalpaiguri and Dacca mutineers but saved by the boldness, promptitude and energy of the Commissioner aided by the gallantry of a band of Volunteers, together with 50 of Her Majesty's 5th Fusiliers and 100 seamen sent to their assistance when it became apparent that no military aid could be expected from the Supreme Government.

In Chota Nagpur the Ramghar Battalion mutinied, various stations were abandoned, the prisoners were released, the treasury plundered and, as might naturally be expected, the savage and ignorant tribes [illegible]

deceived into supposing, from the partial anarchy prevailing, that all Government was at end, rallied round the feudal Chiefs, in many instances probably seeking an opportunity of avenging old grudges, and renewing old tribe feuds, rather than with any hope or serious intention of resisting the Government A contagious feeling of discontent nevertheless spread into Palamau, Sambalpur, and the borders of Cuttack

In the Rajshahi Division, there was a constant sense of apprehension, first on account of the suspected native troops at Jalpaiguri (the Cavalry portion of which eventually mutinied), and afterwards because of the threatened approach of the mutineers from Dacca The stations of Dinajpur and Rangpur were saved from probable attack only by the despatch of bodies of sailors from Calcutta

In the Nadia Division, Berhampore, garrisoned by native troops, both cavalry and infantry, was rescued from threatened danger, first by the rapid despatch of European troops by land and by steamer, and secondly, by the prompt and well-conceived measures for disarming the native garrison An uneasy feeling meanwhile extended itself through Krishnagar, Jessore and the whole Division

In the Burdwan Division, bordering on Chota Nagpur, the Pachete *zamindar* was in a state of semi-rebellion

To the eastward, in the Dacca division, the city of Dacca became the scene of a mutiny of a large native detachment, not put down without considerable loss of life, and was saved by the presence of a party of European sailors previously stationed there

Chittagong was the theatre of a serious mutiny, resulting in the release of the convicts, the plunder of the treasury, and the escape of the mutineers through Tippera and its jungles into the Sylhet and Cachar districts, where, however, owing partly to the despatch of a body of European troops, and partly to the gallantry and loyalty of the Sylhet Light Infantry and the activity and prudence of the officers, civil and military, they are supposed to have perished to a man , but this was not effected without a loss on our side of an European officer and several men of the Battalion

In Assam the seeds of rebellion were sown which, but for the timely discovery of the plot, the arrest and subsequent execution of the chief conspirators, and the secret and timely despatch of European sailors, must have resulted in most serious consequences

The districts immediately in the neighbourhood of Calcutta, and even the Presidency itself, have been subject to periodical panics during the

whole progress of the rebellion—panics which, if in almost every instance groundless, cannot perhaps under the circumstances be considered altogether unnatural, and which were only allayed by a great show of precaution in the posting of troops

It will thus be seen that hardly a single district under the Government of Bengal has escaped either actual danger or the serious apprehension of danger

All the events above alluded to have already been recorded in the weekly narratives furnished by the Bengal Government but I have thought it advisable to recapitulate continuously but very briefly the course which events have taken in each separate Division,—partly for the sake of placing them in a more collected shape, so that the circumstances which occurred in each separate Division may form a separate and continuous narrative, but more especially with a view to bring to prominent notice the very many excellent services which have been performed from time to time by the civil and military officers subordinate to the Bengal Government

It is perhaps unnecessary for me to remark that I have had no military resources at my own disposal and that the urgent requirements of the North West have prevented my receiving except in a limited number of instances, and for limited periods, that assistance which, under a less pressing emergency would have been no doubt readily accorded to me. I have, therefore, in the great majority of cases, been obliged to depend upon such resources as were locally available or such as could (with the sanction of the Supreme Government, which has always been promptly accorded) be entertained for the occasion and sent from the Presidency

Having premised thus much, I proceed with the separative narratives commencing with the Bihar Division, which from its position and importance as well as from the fact that the earliest disturbances occurred there naturally claims the first place

BIHAR DIVISION

It will readily be understood that on the outbreak of disaffection in the North West, I became more than ordinarily anxious for the province of Bihar bordering as it does on the actively disturbed parts of the country more than one of its districts supplying soldiers for the army the town of Patna itself rightly or wrongly supposed to be the hotbed of Mohammadan conspiracies, and of course at this time an object of more than usual suspicion (which, however, I am bound to say the

events have not justified,*) an uneasy feeling on the subject of religion being reported to prevail nor looking to what had occurred at Meerut, Delhi and other up-country stations, was the presence of three native regiments at Dinapore calculated to allay any anxiety that might be felt Added to all this was the importance of the province, politically and financially, almost every district touching the Ganges, and the Great Trunk road running through a large portion of the Division, so that anything happening to endanger the safety of the province would, at the same time, have cut off the two great highways to the Upper Provinces, and again, in a financial point of view, its immense opium cultivation, the quantity of manufactured and partially manufactured opium in the godowns at Patna, the large and scattered treasuries almost unprotected, and, to crown all, except at Dinapore, where their presence was absolutely necessary as a check on the native regiments, not a European soldier throughout the whole Division

Ordinarily precautionary measures were adopted, such as adding to the police force in Bihar, watching the ferries, guarding the frontiers of the disaffected districts, so far as means admitted, and removing the treasure from the stations of Chapra and Arrah to Patna

Captain Rattray's police Battalion, stationed at Suri in the Burdwan Division, had volunteered for active service, and entreated to be led against the murderers of women and children. Six companies were now sent to Patna, and the whole Battalion has since done admirable service through the whole course of the rebellion

For some time, though considerable apprehension prevailed in various parts of the Division, nothing noteworthy occurred Attempts were made to tamper with the fidelity of the Sikhs and Najibs, arrests took place both in the city of Patna and in the Division, a few deserters were from time to time taken and executed, and a police *jamadar* named Waris Ali was seized on the 23rd of June, and, treasonable correspond-

* I cannot but notice here, with reference to what must now be considered the exaggerated opinions of danger to be apprehended from disaffection in the city of Patna itself, which were at that time entertained, that these opinions have been by no means justified by recent events Whatever may have been the inducements and encouragements to rebellion in June and July 1857, have certainly not been lessened in June and July 1858, when the people of Patna have had before them the spectacle of the neighbouring district of Shahabad for weeks in occupation of the rebels, the Gaya district overrun by marauding parties, and Government *thanas* and private property destroyed within a few miles of Patna itself, yet, with a small merely nominal garrison, the city has been as quiet as in a time of profound peace.

ence being found on him, he was executed on the 6th of July he was said to be related to the royal family of Delhi. It was not till the night of 3rd of July that any overt act was committed, when the riot in Patna took place, which resulted in the death of Dr Lyell. It seems certain that only a very inconsiderable portion of the inhabitants of Patna were cognizant of and concerned in this outbreak many arrests were, however made, and many executions followed on what the Commissioner considered sufficient evidence. That Pir Ali, the Patna bookseller was a party to, and a prime mover in the conspiracy there can be no doubt Letters were found in his house, indicating the existence of a conspiracy but nothing that particularly pointed to Patna as the seat of disaffection. A Muhammadan *daroga*, *Shaik Syad-ud-din*, who particularly distinguished himself by his bravery against the rioters and was very severely wounded, was rewarded by Government.

This *daroga* subsequently died of his wounds, but his widow has been pensioned by Government A *sowar* named Fir Beg who showed great courage on this occasion, has received a reward of Rs. 500.

The leader of the Wahabi sect of Muhammadans (who are a large and influential body in Patna and its neighbourhood) had been arrested on the 21st June and long remained under surveillance the Commissioner (Mr Tayler) holding that there were grounds of suspicion against them. Nothing however was at any time proved or even alleged against them, and indeed information, unhappily disregarded, of the intended outbreak, was given by one of the Wahabis, who from his age was exempted, when the other Chiefs were placed in confinement. Lutf Ali Khan, a rich and respectable banker of Patna was arrested by the Commissioner and brought to trial on capital charges, of which he was fully acquitted.

So far all the other districts in the Division and Patna itself, after the outbreak, remained tranquil the Rajas of Bettia and Hatwa came forward with offers of assistance, placed men and elephants at the disposal of Government, and have given praiseworthy aid and support to Government during the whole progress of the rebellion, for which they have received suitable thanks.

About this time the Commissioner applied for and obtained permission to raise a body of military police horse and foot, which he deemed it expedient to recruit from the lower castes, whilst Christians, European and Eurasian, were if procurable to be added to it.

Thus matters continued up to the 25th of July on which day the mutiny of the three regiments at Dinapore was reported to the Commissioner of Patna.

The circumstances of this mutiny the march of the mutineers [illegible]

of the station, the subsequent pursuit, and our disastrous defeat near Arrah, I shall pass over without remark, for these events, though matter of public notoriety, have not come under my official cognizance, nor is it within my province to allude to them except in as far they bear on the general affairs of the Division * I pass on to the time when I find a large part of the district of Shahabad overrun by the rebels, and the station of Arrah actually in the occupation of Koer Singh and his mutinous followers Here a small band of Europeans and Eurasians, with one native Deputy Collector (all of whose names are mentioned below †) together with a party of fifty of Rattray's Sikhs, were besieged by the enemy in a small bungalow which had been fortified by Mr Boyle, the railway engineer

The story of the gallant little band and their relief by Major Eyre has been already told in the narrative furnished by the Bengal Government

After the relief of Arrah, Major Eyre, with 150 Europeans and three guns, attacked and dispersed some thousands of the enemy, amongst whom were the three mutinous regiments from Dinapore, and subsequently reinforced by 200 men of H M 's 10th Foot, 100 fresh Sikhs from Rattray's battalion, and the 45 from Arrah, under Wake, he attacked the enemy's entrenchments, defeated and followed them up to the walls, of Jagdishpur, which was precipitately abandoned by the rebels, and afterwards destroyed by Major Eyre

Thus was Shahabad cleared for a time of Koer Singh and his adherents

Whilst hese events were passing, the remainder of the Division had not been undisturbed At Segowlie, in Champaran, almost contemporaneously with the outbreak at Dinapore, Major Holmes' regiment, the 12th Irregular Cavalry, mutinied, savagely murdered their officers, and then attacked the houses of Messrs Lynch and McDonell, the

* I ought, however, to mention that Mr R L Mangles, of the Civil service and Mr J W Garstin accompanied the pursuing force as volunteers Both these gentlemen were wounded; the latter very severely He has since received an appointment as Deputy Magistrate

† Mr A Littledale, Judge, Mr Combe, officiating Collector, Mr H C Wake, Magistrate Mr Colvin, Assistant Magistrate, Dr Halls, Civil Assistant Surgeon, Mr Field, Sub Deputy Opium Agent, Mr Anderson, Assistant in the Opium Agency, Mr Boyle, District Engineer to the East Indian Railway Company, Saiyad Azim ud-din Hussain, Deputy Collector, Mr Dacosta, Munsif, Mr Godfrey, Head Master Arrah School, Mr Cock, officiating head clerk, Collectorate, Mr Tait, Secretary to Mr. Boyle; Mr. Delpiero, Mr. Hoyle, and Mr D'Souza, Railway Inspectors.

Deputy Magistrate and Sub-Deputy Opium Agent at Siwan, (who made their escape with difficulty) eventually marching towards Azimghar On the 30th. July martial law was proclaimed in the districts constituting the Patna Division, viz. Shahabad, Patna, Bihar Saran, Champaran, Tirhut; and on the 31st of the same month, the Governor General of India in Council extended, to the whole of the Lower Provinces of the Presidency of Bengal, the operation of Act XVI of 1857 which made temporary provision for the trial and punishment of heinous offences in certain districts.

It was on this date, July 31st, that Mr Tayler issued his ill advised order directing the abandonment of all the out stations in this Division. The question of this order has already been so fully discussed that it is necessary to do no more than allude to it here. That it was uncalled for in almost all, if not in every instance, cannot be doubted, and so mischievous did I consider it, that I at once, with the concurrence of the Supreme Government, removed Mr Tayler from his post of Commissioner and appointed Mr Samuells in his room

At Gaya, Messrs. Money and Hollings by the exercise of their own judgment and courage, saved the greater part of the treasure (*7 lakhs*) and conveyed it safely to Calcutta. On the 1st of August this station had been actually abandoned by all the officials but these two gentlemen after proceeding about 3 miles, determined on returning. On the 2nd. Mr Money called in a detachment of 80 men of H M's 64th. Foot, which was proceeding eastward, in order that, if necessary he might send away the treasure under their escort. On the 3rd, having received intelligence that Koer Singh intended to despatch one of the mutinous regiments to Gaya, it was determined to abandon the station. The treasure was taken and the party fell back on the Grand Trunk road. *The najibs emboldened probably by the first abandonment of the* station, were by this time in a state of mutiny and before Mr Money had left the station the jail was broken open and the prisoners released and he himself narrowly escaped capture having only time to mount his horse and gallop off, leaving everything behind him Subsequently a night attack was made on the party resulting in the repulse of the assailants, of whom several were killed. Eventually as I have said, the treasure was brought safe to Calcutta. I had previously expressed my high approval of the conduct of Messrs. Money and Hollings in returning to the station, and had directed them in case of their being compelled to retire to fall back on the Trunk road in preference to retreating to Patna. It is as well to add here that Gaya was re-occupied on the 16th of August without opposition. Much damage had been done to the station, but all by the bad characters of the place [illegible]

the released convicts, who left as soon as the relieving force appeared No other enemy approached the place, and but for Mr Tayler's order its tranquillity need not have been disturbed A special acknowledgment of the services of Messrs Money and Hollings was made by Government, and Mr Hollings, who was previously Sub-Deputy Opium Agent in the district, was made a Deputy Magistrate with an increase of allowances Lieutenant Thomson, H M's 64th regiment, with his detachment, received the thanks of Government for the special service rendered by them in escorting the treasure to a place of safety After the re-occupation of Gaya a party of 50 *najibs*, under Mr Colin Lindsay, was sent from thence to relieve the Tehta Sub-Deputy Opium Agency, reported to be besieged In a village near Jahanabad, midway between Patna and Gaya, Mr Lindsay attacked and defeated a body of 200 armed men, killing 7, wounding 5, and taking 9 prisoners Mr Lindsay burnt the village The *najibs* behaved admirably The *daroga* of Jahanabad, Ramphal Singh, lost a leg in the fight He afterwards died of his wound, but his son has been pensioned by Government Mr Whitecombe, of the Railway Department, accompanied the expedition, and the acknowledgments of Government were returned to him for his conduct Mr Lindsay was also thanked for the spirited behaviour which he had displayed on this and other occasions, but he was recommended to be cautious in so serious a matter as burning villages, which may be occupied by armed men, without the consent or participation of the principal inhabitants The *najibs*, who behaved so well here, were afterwards rewarded

The out-stations of Shergati and Nawada had also been abandoned Orders were given to the officers to return at once to their posts Mr Vincent, in charge of the out-station of Barh, happened to be at Patna when Mr Tayler issued his order, he however, returned to his station without orders, and maintained peace and tranquillity in his district during the whole time of the disturbances.

Muzuffarpur was similarly abandoned in obedience to Mr Tayler's order, but Mr E Lautour, Collector and officiating Magistrate, who had in vain attempted to persuade the residents to remain, after proceeding to Dinapore, returned immediately of his own accord to Muzuffarpur, where he found everything quiet A small detachment of the 12th Irregulars had mutinied on the abandonment of the station, but had been repulsed by the *najibs* and some *barkandazes* in an attack on the treasury, the jail and the Government offices, and, after plundering the residences of the Judge and the Collector, had gone off accompanied by a *thana jamadar* and four or five of the new police *sawars* At Motihari the Magistrate, Mr Raikes, had left his station on the mutiny

of the 12th Irregulars at Segowlie (in his immediate proximity), but had immediately returned to it, and refused again to leave his post.

Chapra had been abandoned on the news of the Segowlie outbreak. It was re-occupied on the 1 th, when everything was found in a tranquil orderly state, with the jail and treasury untouched, and the detachment of *najibs* loyal. Order had been preserved by a native gentleman, *Kazi* Ramzan Ali who received the thanks of Government, and has since been more substantially rewarded. His conduct on this occasion is deserving of the highest praise.

On the 8th August, Sasseram was attacked and plundered by 2,000 of the rebels from Arrah. Shah Kabiruddin, whose influence over the Muhammadans in the neighbourhood was very great, kept the inhabitants of the town and neighbourhood in good heart, and did his utmost to assist the Government. The Shah's conduct on this occasion was very praiseworthy and he has since been thanked and rewarded.

Koer Singh, with a few followers and his relative Ummer Singh hung for some time, about Rhotas and its neighbourhood, and were not ejected without difficulty

Disturbance had been caused in the Nawada district by a rebel named Hyder Ali Khan. He and one or two of his followers were captured by the police, and capitally punished and the rest dispersed

In consequence of the exposed state of the districts of Shahabad and Chapra on the abandonment of Gorakpur the Arrah establishments were removed to Buxar

Two 6-pounders were at this time placed at the disposal of Lieutenant Stanton, *of the Engineers, for the protection of the passage of the* Sone at Barun

About this time Honorary Magistrates were appointed from among the indigo planters in the Chapra, Champaran and Tirhut districts. They were authorized to raise small and efficient bodies of police for the protection of their immediate neighbourhood The arrival of two Gurkha regiments in the Champaran district had restored confidence in that quarter

I must not omit to mention in this place the loyal spirit displayed by a *zamindar* in Tirhut, who, as the only means in his power of doing service to the State and showing his loyalty and devotion, tendered a donation of Rs 25,000 to Government. The name of this gentleman is Bishur Larkas Singh

The 5th Irregular Cavalry which had mutinied at Bhagalpur on the 14th of August as will be detailed hereafter after remaining for some time in the Sonthal *Parganas* was now moving on Gaya and Nawada, plundering as they went No troops could be spared to

attack them, and Captain Rattray, who was stationed here with the Head Quarters of his Battalion, did not feel himself sufficiently strong to move out to any distance against them At length, having destroyed the public buildings at Nawada, they approached Gaya, and Captain Rattray proceeded to encounter them at a few miles distance from the station, but after a severe skirmish, in which, though suffering severely themselves, they inflicted considerable loss on the police Battalion, they evaded him and got to Gaya before he could reach it Here they made an unsuccessful attack on a house which had been fortified for the protection of the residents, but succeeded in breaking open the jail and liberating the prisoners They failed in an attempt to plunder the town, and, after murdering the Munsif of Bihar, rode off for Tikari and the Sone These events took place on the 8th and 9th of September After having committed every species of lawless act in their progress through the Bhagalpur and Bihar Divisions, they ultimately left the Division, no further attempt to stop them having been practicable.

A Naval Brigade, under Captain Sotheby, of H M S *Pearl*, was, during this month, despatched for service in the Patna Division

Whilst Ummer Singh, with the 5th Irregulars and other followers, was hanging about the neighbourhood of Sasseram, Lieutenant Stanton, of the Engineers, moved out from Dehri with a party of Sikhs in search of escaped prisoners, plunder, &c In the village of Etwa some property belonging to Mr Solano was discovered The house in which the property was found was set on fire by order of Lieutenant Stanton The inhabitants of a neighbouring village took the opportunity of firing other houses, and, the work of destruction once commenced, the whole village was destroyed I did not, in this instance, disapprove of this wholesale distruction It was not undeserved, for every inhabitant of the village was believed to have taken part in the late disturbances, and an example such as this was likely to have a salutary effect

A portion of Colonel Fischer's Column, which had been moving along the Grand Trunk road, was permitted by the Supreme Government to halt at Dehri on the Sone, whilst I had directed Captain Rattrav to send to the same position as many of his Sikhs as he could spare from the defence of Gaya Colonel Fischer reached the Sone on the 23rd of September

Sasseram and its neighbourhood was now the part of the Division most liable to disturbance Some uneasiness was still felt in the neighbourhood of Nawada, but it was gradually settling down since the return of the Deputy Magistrate, and the whole of Bihar was gradually returning to a sense of security The late *nazir* of Patna exerted his influence to restore order, and sent in many prisoners

Shah Kabiruddin, of Sasseram, had continued to make himself useful and prove his loyalty and was rewarded with a *khilat* of 10,000 Rupees and a *sanad* under the seal and signature of the Governor General. But a complete feeling of security could hardly be expected to exist. In the beginning of October Ummer Singh and the 5th. Irregulars were still in the neighbourhood of Rhotas. Bihar was constantly disturbed by reports that the mutineers of the Ramghar Battalion, who had broken out in Chota Nagpur were intending to move in that direction. Rumours were current that Koer Singh meditated a return to Shahabad whilst uneasiness was kept up along the frontier on the banks of the Gogra by the abandonment of Gorakpur by the authorities, and its occupation by the *nazir* who had been joined by a portion at least of the mutinous 12th Irregulars, and was said to be daily strengthening himself. At the suggestion of the Commissioner Captain Sotheby's Naval Brigade was now sent to Buxar with two mountain howitzers added to its equipment. This relieved the detachment of Sikhs at that station, who were thence moved for service in the interior of the district.

On the 28th September Lieutenant Baker 2nd in command of Rattray's Sikhs, surprised Ummer Singh's village of Sarobi. Here a quantity of grain and some ammunition were seized. Ummer Singh was not in the village. A *jumadar* a *havildar* and two sepoys were captured in the place, and hanged two days afterwards. Previously to this—from apprehension of possible contingencies—the *sowars* of the Sikh Battalion had been disarmed; but they took part in this affair and behaved so well that at Captain Rattray's request I consented to their having a further trial.

In answer to a communication from the Raja of Bettia, received early in October I announced to him the capture of Delhi and relief of Lucknow under Generals Havelock and Outram, and at the same time I directed the Commissioner of Patna to spread this intelligence throughout his Division. Outrages continued to take place in the villages of the neighbourhood of Arrah and Bihar was still in an unsettled state. A marauder named Jodhur Singh, with a band of Bhojpur men, was doing much mischief making grants to his followers and alleging that the British rule was at an end, yet, notwithstanding all this, as the time for the collection of revenue approached large sums came into the treasury. *Zemindars* who were unable to collect their rent sent in gold coins and old rupees which were afterwards [illegible] and in some parts of the district the usual advances for Opium cultivation had been [illegible] and received. The [illegible] the confidence that was felt in the strength and permanence of our rule.

On the 27th September an [illegible] was [illegible] at Char[illegible]

Nagpur, between a force under Major English and the mutineers of the Ramghar battalion The fugitives from thence, joined by some of Koer Singh's men, took up a position in the village of Akbarpur. Here Captain Rattray attacked them on the 3rd of October with his Sikhs and *sawars*, and drove them with some loss into the jungles towards Rhotas On this occasion too, the cavalry of the Battalion, though without their carbines and armed only with *talwars*, behaved loyally and well, and showed great courage, and I in consequence intimated to Captain Rattray that their carbines might be restored to them

The approval of Government was conveyed to Maharaja Chattardhari Singh, of Hatwa, for the services he had rendered to the British troops, and the measures he had taken against the rebels

Meantime fresh alarm was caused in the district of Bihar by the movements of two companies of the 32nd N I, which had mutinied in the Bhagalpur Division Owing to some misapprehension of orders, the detachment of H M's 53rd Regiment, under Major English, which had been directed to proceed to Gaya for the protection of that place, halted at Shergati, and it was apprehended that these mutineers, following the route taken by the 5th Irregulars, might, in consequence of the delay, anticipate the arrival of this detachment Precautions were, therefore, taken both at Nawada and Gaya, 150 prisoners were removed from the former to the latter place, whilst preparations were made for forwarding these and others from Gaya to Patna, should it prove necessary, the money in the treasury was expended in opium advances, the records were removed to a place of safety, which the residents intended to defend with a garrison of 50 men

The mutineers, however, continued their march through the districts of Bihar and Patna without visiting Gaya, and on the 22nd of October Major English reached that place

Notice of the movements of the mutineers was sent to Captain Rattray in order that he might, if possible, intercept them I directed Major Simpson at Hazaribagh to send as many as he could spare of the detachment of Sikhs at that place to reinforce Captain Rattray, whilst, on my representations to the Supreme Government, a wing of H M's 13th Regiment with two guns, was sent up to Raniganj to be ready to move in any direction, this being a precautionary measure in case the Head Quarters of the 32nd should follow the example of the two mutinous companies.

A party of 42 *najibs*, sent out to effect the capture of Jodhur Singh, failed in their object He had taken up his position in a strongly fortified house surrounded by lofty mud walls loop-holed An attempt to force an entrance was repulsed, and the attack was, for the present,

abandoned. Shahabad was becoming more settled notwithstanding the presence of Ummer Singh in the district. Both his and Koer Singh's estates were declared forfeited to Government.

In Saran fears continued to be entertained of an advance from the Gorakpur direction, and the Commissioner had advanced one of the Gurkha regiments for the the protection of the frontier. This regiment left Segowlie on the 17th October. The Naval Brigade was also ordered to Chapra, and, pending the arrival of the *Jumna* armed Steamer the Patna steam ferry boat was detained for service in the Gogra.

In a minute addressed to the Government of India, I suggested the re-organization of the Patna station-guards (*najibs*) upon the footing of Captain Rattray's Police Corps. This has been since sanctioned, and the approval of the Supreme Government has also been given for raising a regiment of irregular cavalry in the Bihar Division.

The two companies of the 32nd mutineers had, unopposed, continued their march through the Division, and crossed the Sone at Arwal *ghat* on the 24th of October and in the meantime a [illegible]nd detachment of two companies of the same regiment, who were proceeding from Barhait, in the Sonthal *Parganas* to the Head Quarters of the regiment at Suri mutinied *en route* and followed the general direction taken by the previous detachment and the 5th Irregulars. Had it been found practicable to pursue them immediately it is impossible that they could have escaped.

It was on the 17th of October that they broke out into mutiny at Rampur Hat and it was not till the [illegible]th of that month that two companies of H. M.'s 13th and a portion of the Yeomanry were sent in pursuit. They had thus a start of six days, still it was hoped that, though the pursuing column might not come up with them, yet that they would be kept in a state of hurry and alarm, and that the calamitous consequences of their march might thus be in some degree mitigated. Lieutenant Hoddam, of the Artillery an officer well acquainted with the country through which they would have to pass, and who throughout the whole period of the disturbances had done admirable service was sent with the pursuing column. It is as well briefly to add here that this second body of mutineers, following nearly in the track of the first on reaching Nawada, were attacked by the force under Major [illegible] on the 2nd November. After losing several killed and wounded, the main body escaped and forded the Sone at Arwal. On the 6th Captain Rattray met them at a place called Dan[illegible], and a severe [illegible] place [illegible] for many [illegible]. The sepoys on this occasion [illegible] with great [illegible]. The ad[illegible] was all [illegible] Division [illegible] considerable difficulty [illegible]

they had established themselves, they retreated on the village of Danchua, where, protected first by a mud wall in front of the village on which our guns could make no impression, and then fighting persistently from house to house, they were able, in some measure, to maintain their position, till, night closing in, they made good their retreat, and by a march of 40 miles, escaped from the district, and evaded all further pursuit Their loss was heavy, nor was the victory gained without a considerable loss on our side, including Lieutenant Boyd, a very gallant and promising young officer, who was doing duty with the battalion Mr E B Baker, Deputy Magistrate of Sasseram, was present, and took part in the engagement

The first detachment had previously crossed the Grand Trunk road about 36 miles in advance of Dehri, actually under the eye of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, who was at that time travelling up country by *dak*.

The Saran district during this time did not remain unscathed—500 men from Gorakpur having entered the district and plundered two factories, one belonging to a native, Baburam, the other to Mr Macleod, the European assistants of the latter having barely time to escape

I directed the Commissioner to do the best he could for the defence of the district, making use of the two Gurkha regiments and of the Naval Brigade, but for the present to act strictly on the defensive , and I now made an application to the Supreme Government, requesting that European officers should be attached to the Gurkhas This was immediately accorded , but pending permission, the Brigadier in command at Dinapore had, at the instance of the Commissioner, sent some officers to do duty with the force One of the regiments, together with Captain Sotheby's Naval Brigade, was stationed at Siwan, the other at Motihari and subsequently at Bettia, and no further attack was made from the Gorakpur direction The *Jamna*, as has been previously stated, was ordered to enter the Gogra , but her Commander reported that there was not sufficient water for her , much later, however, in the dry weather, the *Jamna* was able to proceed up the Gogra For the present she was employed in guarding the Sonepur *ghat* during the annual fair Every thing went off quietly at this fair, and Mr Macleod purchased a large quantity of draught bullocks and some horses on the part of Government

A body of European mounted police was about this time (beginning of November) sanctioned for the Bihar district, and a Commandant and 26 men were entertained and sent up This has been found a very useful body Trials under Act XVI of 1857 had been going on in all the districts of the Division. Some few men had been executed, and many

more sentenced to various terms of imprisonment.[1] The statistics of these trials have been so fully detailed in the weekly narratives that I shall not make any further allusion to them

Ummer Singh and his followers continued to infest Rhotas and its neighbourhood, and on one occasion a relative of his, with a party of marauders, crossed the Sone for the purpose of plunder

Shah Kabiruddin more than once proposed to raise a body of men at Sasseram to act against them, and I called for a report on this subject from the local authorities, who, however did not give their support to the scheme. The Commissioner also strongly represented the necessity of clearing out Rhotas, and I communicated his views to the Supreme Government but about the middle of November Ummer Singh was said to be deserted by the rabble who had hitherto followed him, and to have taken refuge in Chainpur with the fugitive mutineers of the 32nd Native Infantry Shahabad was becoming tranquillized.

In the districts to the North of the Ganges everything remained quiet A meditated attack on the Mohowla Raja by Rit Bhanwar Singh a relative of Koer Singh was checked by the advance of the Sivan Brigade At this time had it been in the power of the authorities in the Central Provinces to afford efficient co-operation, I had intended making a movement towards Gorakpur with the Naval Brigade and Gurkhas but on being informed of their inability to act in concert with this movement, I directed the Commissioner to be cautious in making any advance and on no account to allow the troops to move beyond Selimpur A Brahmin taken in the camp of the Naval Brigade with seditious letters in his possession was tried by Court Martial and shot

The detachment of Gurkhas at Bagha *ghat* on the Gogra, captured 19 of a party of rebels armed with fire locks, swords &c., who had crossed into Champaran but these districts generally were tranquil and quiet

Some uneasiness was felt in the Behar district on account of preparations made by the Rani of Tikari who was reported to be collecting men and to be mounting guns on her fort

In Shahabad Ummer Singh was now said to be a fugitive [illegible] in jungles and caves, with only seven or eight followers but the neighbourhood of Rhotas was still infested by banditti [illegible] mischief The inhabitants of a village near [illegible]arpur successfully repulsed an attack made by a [illegible] and [illegible] wounded the [illegible] and three of his men

[illegible] party of [illegible] and [illegible] belonging to the [illegible] Coal Company at [illegible], destroy[illegible] property In the districts North of the Ganges a new [illegible]

was at this time added by the mutinies of the detachments at Dacca and Chittagong It was feared that the 73rd regiment at Jalpaiguri, as well as the *risalas* of Irregular Cavalry, would follow the example set by these detachments, and joining them would attempt to make their way through these districts into Oudh Great panic in consequence prevailed, and this extended even to Patna, where the natives were reported to be sending away their wives and children I urgently represented the matter to the Supreme Government, but it was at that time found impossible to spare any of the troops that were moving upcountry The Yeomanry Cavalry, then at Gaya, were, however, placed at my disposal, and I directed them to proceed into Tirhut with all practicable despatch for the protection of Muzuffarpur and the Government Stud at Pusa The danger, however, which at the time seemed so imminent, passed over, and Tirhut and the other northern districts remained undisturbed

I was at this time informed by the Supreme Government that Maharaja Jang Bahadur was about to march an Army into our territories to co-operate with us, and that His Excellency might be expected at Segowlie about the 19th December I at once directed the Commissioner to issue orders for the collection of all necessary supplies and for the affording all assistance that might be required for the Nepalese Army

Considerable alarm was caused in the Shahabad district early in December by a report, seeming to rest on reliable grounds, that a body of 2,000 sepoys were about to cross the Gogra near Barha *ghat* Preparations were made for opposing them, but the report proved subsequently to be altogether groundless

A reward of 1,000 Rupees was offered for the apprehension of Ummer Singh, and a smaller reward for the capture of Sarnam Singh, a rebel ringleader, who had lately attacked the Telkap indigo factory, murdering three factory servants and a police *barkandaz*

On the Gorakpur frontier a party of Gurkhas, under Lieutenant Burlton, made a successful expedition to Bhanuli in Gorakpur, recovering a large number of hackeries and cattle

A small body of rebels crossed from the Gorakpur into the Saran district, and attacked the post of Gathni, which was held by a detachment of 55 Sikhs, who, thinking a large force was on them, fled Reinforcements were promptly sent by Colonel Rowcroft from the Gurkhas and Naval Brigade, but the enemy had made his escape across the river before the party came up Captain Rattray had frequently represented the partial disorganisation of his corps caused by his having to detach so many different parties from Head Quarters I now directed him to hold himself in readiness to proceed to Arrah, informing him that

arrangements would be made for calling in as many as possible of these detachments. This, too, was an arrangement that would tend much to the pacification of the country in the neighbourhood of Arrah. I also desired that Mr Wake, the Magistrate of Arrah, should send in a scheme for strengthening the local Police.

On the 15th December two regiments of the force, under Maharaja Jang Bahadur arrived at Champarān, and another on the 19th. Mr Richardson, Collector of Saran, was sent to superintend the collection of supplies, carriages, &c., for the force, a duty which he most satisfactorily performed. Messrs. Raikes and O Reilly also exerted themselves in a very praiseworthy manner as did Mr Dampier of Tirhut

The services of Mewa Lal, the *faujdari na ir* and Munshi Zinat Hossain, the Government *vakil* at Gaya, were brought to notice by the Magistrate, and suitably rewarded

On the 23rd December Captain Rattray arrived at Arrah with the Head Quarters of the Battalion Some uneasiness continued to be felt in the Shahabad district, and more particularly in the neighbourhood of Sasseram. In Bihar all was quiet. An extra police force of 250 men was at this time sanctioned for the sub-division of Nawada.

In the districts north of the Ganges a feeling of insecurity still prevailed in consequence of the near neighbourhood of the Gorakpur rebels, some of whom, indeed, were occupying posts on this side of the Gogra nor had anxiety yet ceased as to the movements of the mutinous *sowars* from Jalpaiguri and the sepoys from Dacca, who were moving along the *Tarai* to the north of Tirhut The Yeomanry Cavalry were still in a position to protect Muzaffarpur and Arrah

On the 23rd of December Jang Bahadur with the main body of his army arrived at Bettia, and on the same day General MacGregor who had been appointed Military Commissioner with His Excellency also reached that place. All arrangements for carriage and supplies had been satisfactorily completed

On the 26th of December at Sohanpur on the Gorakpur frontier Colonel Rowcroft, commanding the force consisting of the Naval Brigade and detachments of two Gurkha regiments, 50 of Rattray's Sikhs in all less than a thousand men, defeated a force under the *nazim* [illegible] Khan consisting of not less than 6,000 or 7,000 men, amongst whom were *1 100 or 1 200 sepoys*. Of the rebels [illegible] are said to have been killed, while Colonel Rowcroft lost only one dooly bearer killed, and one man, a Gurkha *subadar* wounded

On the same day a fight took place at Sa[illegible] [illegible] miles from [illegible] between 2 regiments sent out by Maharaja Jang Bahadur and a party [illegible]

of rebels, 4 of whom were killed and several wounded, the Gurkhas losing only one man killed and 3 wounded

These successes had the effect of clearing the districts of the Patna Division north of the Ganges The Maharaja of Bettia received my acknowledgments for the service he had rendered in assisting to prevent the rebels from crossing the Gandak

Early in January 1858 Colonel Rowcroft and his force moved into the Gorakpur district, so that his future proceedings do not come within the scope of this narrative

On the 13th January, the Deputy Magistrate at Sasseram reported that Ummer Singh, being pressed by a force despatched from Mirzapur, had reoccupied Rhotas, but that no troops, European or native, were available at Sasseram to co-operate with the Mirzapur party Colonel Michell was now commanding at that post, and I directed Captain Rattray to return to Sasseram, and give the assistance of his Battalion in clearing out and occupying Rhotas

Bihar was meanwhile perfectly quiet One hundred sailors, with officers of the Indian Navy, had been sent up to Gaya, and arrived early in January Mr Money reported that two brothers, Rajput *zamindars*, had offered to bring 500 men to act against Rhotas Their offer was accepted, and they were directed to join Captain Rattray's force

Early in February Captain Rattray arrived at Sasseram, and Colonel Michell immediately proceeded to organise an advance on Rhotas with a detachment of H M 's 54th, a few men of the Royal Artillery, a portion of the Bengal Police Battalion, and some levies furnished by *zamindars* Colonel Michell occupied the fort without any opposition, Ummer Singh's rabble having retired on his approach, but it was evident, from the preparations that had been made in Rhotas and its neighbourhood, that the enemy had contemplated holding the place in force at some future time, and it was probably intended to be a rallying point, when the rebels should be driven out of Oudh and Gorakpur

An attack made by 200 rebels in the beginning of February on Akbarpur was repulsed by the *zamindars*

The mutineers of the 11th Irregulars and 73rd N. I, who had been moving through the *Tarai*, were about this time reported to have crossed the Gandak, and all fear of their entering the Patna Division was at an end

In anticipation of the permission of the Supreme Government, I authorized the authorities in Tirhut and Champaran to entertain extra police to prevent the escape of fugitive mutineers, under the guise of pilgrims, into Nepal, during the Shivaratri festival, which took place

on the 12th of February and the Nepal darbar, with the same object directed the closing of the passes into Nepal.

At the suggestion of Colonel Michell and Mr Wake, I sanctioned, subject to the confirmation of the Supreme Government, the entertainment of a levy of 250 men for the occupation of Rhotas.

This has been organized by Mr Baker Deputy Magistrate at Sasseram, and placed under a very intelligent Non Commissioned officer Sergeant Nolan, whose services were placed at my disposal for this purpose and, while this body was being raised and disciplined, Rhotas was occupied by Lieutenant Baker and in Command of Captain Rattray's Police Battalion, with a large detachment from that corps, which still continues to hold it

The Deputy Magistrate at Sasseram was also empowered to increase his local police.

The march of H M s 85th regiment through Bihar seemed to offer a fitting opportunity for dismantling the fort of Tikari The regiment was, at my request, directed to halt at Gaya, and two companies, with the sailors who have been previously mentioned, proceeded to *Tikari accompanied by the Magistrate Mr Money, and his assistant* Mr Bayley

It is unnecessary to repeat what has been so recently reported of the proceedings here, resulting in the discovery of some guns, ammunition, &c., the existence of which was persistently denied but the concealment took place, in all probability more from fear of the consequence supposed to be attendant on their discovery than from any intention of reserving them with a view to future treasonable designs against Government.

Considering the case in this light, I hesitated to adopt the severe measures recommended by the Commissioner who proposed the partial, if not the entire destruction of the fortifications, and the removal of the Rani to Patna. *I held that the guns and ammunition having been* seized under the operation of section 26, Act XXVIII of 185[illegible] the penalty therein laid down was all that in strict justice could be enforced and that great allowances were to be made for the circumstances which, in the state of partial lawlessness prevailing in the Bihar district [illegible] almost compelled the Rani to take up arms for her own protection as she had been actually laid under heavy contribution by the 5th Irregulars during their march through Bihar

Early in March a large body of rebels was said to be advancing from Fyzabad in Oudh viâ Gorakpur towards the district of Saran. They were however defeated by Colonel Rowcroft with heavy loss, and the danger was thus for the time averted but on the [illegible]th March I received [illegible] intelligence that [illegible] was occupied and a detachment of H M s

37th regiment besieged in their entrenchments at that place, by a considerable force under Koer Singh It is not for me to describe the operations at Azimghar on the advance of various detachments to its relief from Allahabad, Benares and Ghazipur, or the subsequent defeat of the rebels by Sir E Lugard with the Division which had been despatched under his command from Lucknow All this has doubtless been detailed by the Government of the North West Provinces I return to the relation of the measures taken for the defence of the several districts of Bihar, and more particularly of Shahabad, which was now again to be partially occupied by the rebel forces, and of Chapra, which seemed also to be threatened At the end of March the force in the Division was thus disposed

At Dinapore, under the Command of Brigadier Christie, were portions of each of H M's regiments, the 35th and 37th, in all about 600, of these 53 were at Patna

At Dehri, watching the *ghats* of the Sone, was the headquarters of the Bengal Police Battalion under Captain Rattray, from which he had furnished detachments, to Rhotas 250, to Jahanabad, on the Grand Trunk road, 100 infantry, with nearly all the cavalry attached to his Battalion, besides other parties at Patna, Chapra and elsewhere

At Sasseram, under the independent Command of Colonel Michell, and afterwards of Colonel Corfield, were from 200 to 300 European recruits, with 70 artillerymen and 4 9-pounder guns Here also was the levy before spoken of under Sergeant Nolan, 250 strong

At Gaya were 100 sailors under Lieutenant Duval, I N, and 25 European police under Mr. Hely

I despatched from Calcutta on the 1st of April 100 European seamen, accompanied, as usual, by two guns, and I directed the Commissioner of Patna to make a requisition on Mr Yule, the Commissioner of Bhagalpur, for the 100 European sailors with their guns, who were then at Purnea

Both at Arrah and Chapra an entrenched position was established, and at the former place, in consideration of its proximity to Jagdishpur, were stationed two companies of H M's 35th, which, at the urgent representation of Mr Samuells, the Commissioner, Brigadier Christie had sent thither, together with two light howitzers and a handful of artillery, the 100 sailors from Calcutta and 100 Sikhs, whom Captain Rattray had been directed to send from Dehri At Chapra were posted the 100 seamen from Purnea and about 50 of Rattray's Sikhs, whilst at Siwan was a levy, similar to that at Sasseram, 200 strong, which had been raised and organized under the superintendence of Mr McDonell, the Sub-Deputy Opium Agent.

I do not mention the Bihar station-guards, which were scattered over the Division generally at different stations, for these were universally mistrusted, and as will be seen it has since been thought advisable to disarm them.

The armed steamers *Jamna* and *Megna* were directed to cruise—the latter in the Ganges off Ballia, the former in the Gogra, so as to interfere with any crossing either into Shahabad or Chapra

The fort at Buxar was put into a state of defence, and manned by a few seamen from the *Jamna*

Koer Singh, meanwhile, had been driven out of Azimghar by Sir E. Lugard about the 13th of April and had been again defeated on the 20th at Bansdia by a column under Brigadier Douglas, who closely pursued him to the very banks of the Ganges, where so precipitate was the flight of the rebels that their guns, treasure and even Koer Singh's palanquin fell into the hands of the pursuing force. A large party nevertheless effected the passage of the river at Sheopur, where they were said to have been assisted with boats by the *zemindars* of that place, and made their way to the jungles of Jagdishpur This was on the 21st of April. On the 22nd the officer commanding the troops at Arrah Captain LeGrand, having consulted with the civil authorities determined on an attack on Jagdishpur before the enemy broken and dispirited, should have time to recover its energies or make any efficient preparations for defence

Accordingly with the 2 companies of H M's 35th 140 strong 50 European sailors and 100 Sikhs, 5 artillerymen and 2 guns, he made a night march arriving in the neighbourhood of Jagdishpur before daylight in the morning When day dawned he entered the jungles into which he had not penetrated far when meeting with some slight opposition he ordered a retreat perhaps in the hope of drawing the enemy *into the open plain But, whatever may have been his motive for thus* retiring the retreat on the part of the Europeans degenerated into a panic flight. No entreaties of their officers could induce the men again to form and face their pursuers, whilst heat and fatigue did their work and proved most fatal enemies. Man after man dropped from [illegible] and out of nearly [illegible] European soldiers and seamen who left Arrah not more than 50 returned alive. Three officers also fell among whom was Captain LeGrand, [illegible] and Dr Clarke of H M's 35th. [illegible] fell into the enemy's hands [illegible] that they [illegible] guns [illegible] The Sikhs [illegible]

that but for them not a European would have returned to Arrah Their loss was 10 killed and 5 wounded Lieutenant Waller, of the late 40th N I, who commanded them, and showed very great gallantry, was also severely wounded, nor would he have escaped but for the devotion of one of the native officers with the Sikhs, who gave up his horse to him The name of this officer is Nihal Singh For this act of devotion, and for his conduct and bearing generally on this occasion, he has received the first class of the Order of Merit at the recommendation of Captain Rattray *Jamadar* Sewdial Singh also behaved with conspicuous bravery, and was presented with the 3rd class of the Order of Merit

The enemy followed up the pursuit to within 2 miles of Arrah

In Chapra precautions were taken against any possible advance of the enemy in that direction, and, when an incursion into the district seemed imminent, the ladies and the treasure, amounting to 6 *lakhs*, were taken into Dinapore

Great fears were naturally entertained for this district, as it was pretty generally known that in the treasury of the Raja of Hatwa was property to the amount of a crore of rupees (one million sterling), nor, in the event of any attempt on the place, should we have been able to render the slightest assistance to this loyal family, who have stood firmly by us during the whole disturbances

Saran, however, was not made the point of attack, and, with the exception of a few small and scattered parties, no attempt on the part of the rebels was made to enter the district The presence of the Steamer *Jamna* may have had its effect, and I ought to mention that the *Megna* fired into and dispersed more than one body that would otherwise have crossed the Ganges into Shahabad

It was not till the 30th of April that any reinforcements reached Arrah On that and the following day, a portion of Brigadier Douglas' column, which had commenced the passage of the Ganges on the 28th of April, moved into the station, and by this time Sir E Lugard had also arrived on the opposite bank and was preparing to cross Measures were also taken for reinforcing Sasseram, and H M's 6th regiment, then in Calcutta, was with all haste despatched to that place During all this time the rebels, emboldened by their success of the 23rd, which had added 2 guns and other arms, with a considerable quantity of ammunition, to their equipment, were strengthening themselves at Jagdishpur Discharged sepoys and bad characters from the districts round were flocking in, and Ummer Singh had joined them with a considerable band of followers.

It was afterwards found that Koer Singh, who had been wounded during the retreat, died very soon after his arrival at Jagdishpur; but his death was, for some time, carefully concealed by those about him, as his name has always been a tower of strength to the rebels in this part of the country.

During the first week in May Sir E. Lugard was engaged in crossing his force into Shahabad, and in making his preparations for an attack on Jagdishpur. On the 7th, after an interview on the previous day with the Commissioner and Brigadier Christie, he marched to Bihia with a force of artillery 13 guns, cavalry about 600, and infantry about 1,400, with the intention of advancing on the west, as the rebels had devoted all their energies to the defence of the east approach, on which side they confidently expected an attack. Having made all arrangements on the 8th, as fully detailed in his own despatch, he on the 9th moved on Jagdishpur from which the enemy were dislodged after making a determined stand, the casualties on our side being only 2 men slightly wounded. But, though driven from their position at Jagdishpur the rebels still held together in the extensive jungle which on all sides surrounds it, and on the 11th the General having opened communications with Colonel Corfield, who by his direction had moved from Sasseram to [illegible] with between 800 and 900 men, again attacked them. Colonel Corfield making a simultaneous attack from the south whilst Colonel Robertson on the west, with cavalry and horse artillery repulsed a party, said to be under the leadership of Ummer Singh which attempted to break away in that direction.

In all these operations the enemy suffered very severely. Our loss was trifling and as usual the sun proved more destructive than the sword, many and especially in Colonel Corfield's force being struck down by heat and exhaustion.

The main body of the rebels had now established themselves in the southern part of this extensive jungle. On the 15th they made a faint attack on Sir E. Lugard's position but retreated as soon as the troops moved out. Their strength could not actually be estimated but the Commissioner was of opinion that there was still a collection of some 4000 men, of whom only a portion were sepoys, the remainder being composed of the [illegible] from the different villages round.

Parties from time to time [illegible] themselves in different directions; as, for instance, one body of from 3[illegible] [illegible] the Grand Trunk road at Jahanabad, carry[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] in the neighbourhood. The party afterwards returned to the [illegible]. The [illegible] of the [illegible] [illegible] destruction of the [illegible] [illegible] immediate and [illegible]

was impossible, it was determined to cut a broad path* through the jungle from east to west with Jagdishpur as its centre, so that the rebels should not be able to pass from south to north, or *vice versâ*, without detection

Sir E Lugard took up a position at Jagdishpur, but Colonel Corfield returned to Sasseram, a movement which he considered necessary for the protection of the Grand Trunk road

This was the state of affairs till the 26th On that day Sir E Lugard having first despatched a party of cavalry and artillery to Dalipur to divert the enemy's attention, whilst H M's 10th Foot, under the command of Brigadier Douglas, marched through the jungle to attack the enemy's rear, moved with the main body of his forces on their position at the village of Mitha, on the south western skirt of the jungle

Almost as soon as our forces came in sight, the rebels, having fired a few rounds from the two howitzers captured in the disastrous affair with the detachment of the 35th, abandoned them and fled precipitately They were pursued for some miles by the 10th Foot, who at length were obliged to desist from fatigue, and subsequently 500 of the rebels were believed to have succeeded in returning to the jungle Besides the guns, two elephants and some baggage and supplies fell into our hands

So far the remainder of the district had continued comparatively quiet A rebel named Futteh Singh, who gave some trouble last year, collected some followers in the Bihar district, but the Deo Raja volunteered to put him down, and the Sonepura Raja had actually attacked and driven him from a position he had taken up, for which service he has received the commendation of Government A few scattered bodies in twos and threes made their way into the Chapra district, more with the idea and hope of eluding pursuit and returning to their villages than with any hostile intention

The rebels, during the whole time of their occupation of a portion of the Shahabad district, had levied contributions on all the neighbouring villages, and taken severe vengeance on all whom they considered to be their enemies As an instance of their barbarity I may mention that a *barkandaz*, who was conveying a letter from Arrah, having fallen into their hands, they cut off the unfortunate man's nose and right hand, and in this state dismissed him, nor was this a solitary instance of their cruelty

Sir E Lugard now moved from his standing camp at Jadgishpur which was becoming unhealthy, and occupied a post on the east side of the jungle On the 2nd of June, having received trustworthy intelligence of the rebel position, he advanced on it from the eastward, (Brigadier

* An estimate made showed that it would have employed 320,000 men 6 weeks to cut it all down

Douglas having been sent to occupy Dalipur on the west,) and attacking the rebels at a place called Akarwa, took them completely by surprise, and drove them into the north east corner of the jungle, killing between 30 and 40 of them. He then extended a line of sentries through the jungle completely from east to west, so as to prevent their recrossing this line. On the 3rd the General again attacked them at Bhitaura, and obtained a complete success, their loss being very severe, not less probably than 200 Four elephants were captured •

On that night the rebels under Ummer Singh who was seen by the villagers mounted on a white horse and clothed in armour, evacuated the jungle in a body amd moved on Surajpura, and from thence to the village of Dhansuki, where they plundered the house of the Dumraon Raja Dewan. From thence they turned westward and, crossing the Karamnassa, took up a position in the village of Gomhur which over looks the Ganges. Lieutenant Baker 2nd in Command of the Bengal Police Battalion, started with 60 of his *sawars* in pursuit of Ummer Singh ; but, though he marched upwards of 70 miles in two days, he failed in overtaking the party of the rebel chief before they had secured their position in the village of Gomhur

Meanwhile an unfortunate occurrence had taken place in the Chapra district where the *darrga* of Tajpur who had made himself particularly active in the apprehension of fugitive mutineers was murdered by some of the scattered bands whom I have before mentioned as having entered that district The family of this officer will be pensioned.

At the representation of the Commissioner I applied for an officer to command the Siwan Levy and Captain Miles of the late 23rd N I., was appointed. •

About this time the capture took place of the rebel chief Nishan Singh This man had, from the time of the first outbreak, taken a prominent part and was one of the principal leaders A reward of [illegible] Rs had long been offered for his apprehension.

He had some days previously left the rebel camp and proceeded in the direction of his own village of [illegible] From information furnished by Mr Baker Deputy Magistrate of Sasseram this capture was admirably effected by Sergeant Nolan with a party of the Sasseram [illegible] (which are under his charge) In the absence of any Special Commissioner [illegible] he was handed over to the military authorities for trial, and sentenced to be blown from a gun and the sentence was carried out He confirmed the intelligence of which there had previously been [illegible] of the death of Koer Singh

My [illegible] were conveyed to Mr Baker Sergeant Nolan [illegible]

and all concerned in this business The reward was paid and distributed amongst the captors

The rebel force, which under the conduct of Ummer Singh had, as I have stated, taken up their position in the village of Gomhur, were burning and destroying in various directions Brigadier Douglas was, however, in pursuit, and reached Buxar on the morning of the 9th of June It was hoped that Colonel Cumberledge, who had moved from Ghazipur to Zamania, with a small force of cavalry, infantry and 2 guns, would have been able to co-operate from the west, but, thinking that Ghazipur was threatened, he returned to that place before Brigadier Douglas was able to make his attack On the evening of the 9th, about 500 men opened a musketry fire on the *Megna* gun boat, which was lying near Gomhur No damage was done to the crew who, under the direction of their commander, Mr Sanderson, kept up an incessant fire on the enemy, resulting in their killing one *sadu* and 6 men Mr Sanderson's spirited conduct received my warm approbation

Brigader Douglas moved across the Karamnassa on the 11th June with the intention of attacking the rebel position at Gomhur, but Ummer Singh, without waiting the attack, evacuated this post, and once more returned to the Jagdishpur jungle with several men Captain Rattray, with 300 or 400 men of his Battalion, was encamped at Rupsagar, and the rebels fired a few shots into his camp as they past on their way into the jungle, which they reached on the 12th General Lugard, with H M's 10th Foot and other troops, was at Dalipur, west of the jungle Other parties of the rebels had meanwhile crossed into the Ghazipur district, where they did considerable damage

On the 15th a portion of those in the Jagdishpur jungle marched for the Sone and crossed into the Bihar district, with the supposed intention of attacking the fort of Tikari, where a large sum of money, 15 to 20 *lakhs*, was known to be deposited They plundered villages on both sides of the Sone, destroyed two factories belonging to Mr Solano, and surprised and burned the *thana* of Bikram in Bihar General Lugard had meanwhile moved into Arrah, and his force was so much knocked up as to be unable to take up arms in pursuit of these marauding parties Captain Rattray was left with his Sikhs to watch the jungle and protect the men employed in cutting it down, but he also retired into Arrah on the 17th June, being pressed for supplies and much outnumbered by the enemy in his neighbourhood This move he had been directed to take in case of Ummer Singh showing himself with any force at Jagdishpur

Colonel Longden, however, with a portion of General Lugard's force, pushed across the Sone towards Dinapore with a view of preventing any attack on the city of Patna Nor was this uncalled for. It was

notorious that the rebels had entered the Patna district, and, as has been shown, had destroyed the Bikram *thana* at a distance of not more than 16 miles from the city itself, which was incapable of resisting any attack whilst the opium godown (and this too at the manufacturing season) was entirely destitute of means of defence, the small party of Sikhs, which had hitherto guarded it, having been sent off to join the head quarters of their Battalion at Jagdishpur where their services seemed urgently required, and a similar party from Chapra, upon which the Commissioner had depended, having meanwhile been despatched to Siwan for the protection of the Saran frontier which was then threatened.

Patna, however, was not attacked, owing probably to the movement of our troops under Colonel Longden Of the rebels who had crossed the Sone the main body were led by Jodhur Singh, a man whose name has been before mentioned in the course of the narrative, originally possessing little or no influence, but whom a certain amount of audacity combined with accurate local knowledge and bitter hostility to the authorities, have raised to a certain degree of importance He was, at this time, believed to have with him a force of not less than 700 men but the numbers appear to have been somewhat exaggerated, and at any rate of regular sepoys he could at no time have had more than 150, with perhaps double that number of half armed rabble,—a *quite sufficient number however to do very serious damage*, where no resistance could be immediately organised

It was apprehended from the first that Gaya and its jail would again be attacked, and Mr Money the Magistrate applied for assistance to Captain Young who was at that time at Shergati with a detachment of Madras Rifles. He brought 300 men into Gaya, and two companies of of the same regiment, which afterwards arrived at Shergati, were also directed by the military authorities to proceed to Gaya

In a consultation with Mr Money Captain Young gave it as his opinion that the position of the jail was untenable and Mr Money consequently determined on despatching 156 of the worst prisoners *under a portion of the najib guard (Bihar station-guards) to Shergati* This detachment broke into mutiny on the road within six miles of Shergati shot their native officer and released the prisoners One of them went off to join the rebels whilst the remainder with 8 of the prisoners whom they professed to have recaptured, went on to Shergati and alleged that they had been attacked by the enemy and that the release of the prisoners had been forced by them This was proved to be false and after trial 18 of the *najibs* were sentenced to be hanged, and the rest —23—to be transported, and the sentences were carried out The jail at Gaya had meanwhile been [illegible]

of the *najib* guard, and on the night of the 21st June they reported that 200 rebels came quietly to the jail and released the prisoners The whole transaction is mysterious, but the Magistrate who investigated the matter acquitted the guard of any thing more than cowardice It was, however, considered desirable to disarm the whole of the Patna station-guards, who had long been distrusted, and the measure was carried out without difficulty In the same letter in which the Commissioner conveyed the news of this third release of the Gaya prisoners he brought to notice the systematic plan which the rebels were pursuing throughout the districts in which they had established a footing Revenue was being regularly collected by them, all the Government buildings and all friendly villages were destroyed, the police and those who had in any way evinced a favourable feeling to Government were ruthlessly murdered, and the unfortunate contractor who had supplied our troops at Jagdishpur was hanged On the 24th of June the Jahanabad *thana*, on the road between Gaya and Patna, was surprised, the Government buildings burnt, the *daroga* cut to pieces, and his mangled body afterwards hung up by the heels on a tree opposite the site of the *thana* On the following day a police post was attacked, and one *barkandaz* killed, the rest being able to effect their escape The Nimanadawa *dāk* bungalow was also destroyed on the same day, and Jodhur Singh is said to have boasted that he would destroy every public building between the Sone and Monghyr Nimanadawa is not more than 10 miles from Patna, and the Commissioner made judicious arrangements for the defence of the city in case of an attack, moving a portion of the Marine Brigade, with two guns, to the opium godown, and posting his police so as to prevent any rising in the city A reinforcement of two companies of H M 's 10th Foot had been sent from Dinapore The treasure, amounting to 11 *lakhs*, was moved into the fort, as was also the Collector's office with the records, so as to save guards as much as possible

But the enemy kept clear of any stations where troops might be supposed to be posted, and contented themselves with doing all the damage in their power to the scattered *thanas* and police stations

The Tikari Ranis represented their defenceless condition, and I directed Mr Money to send two companies of the Madras Rifles, accompanied by a civil officer, for their protection This has since been done, but, though bands of the rebels were constantly in the neighbourhood of that fort, no attack was attempted by them

The Chapra district, which at first was comparatively free from invasion, had lately, as I have shown, been infested by small and scattered parties of mutineers, and on the night of the 21st June an

attack on a somewhat larger scale, by a party variously estimated at from 100 to 500 men was made on Captain Miles' post at Etwa. With the newly raised Siwan Levy and a few Sikhs he repulsed this attack, killing twelve of the enemy and a few days later he in his turn attacked them at a place called Laban, and, on their taking flight, pursued them for some distance. Great credit is due to Captain Miles for the service he has rendered with this before untried force.

For the defence of Muzuffarpur and Motihari, which had hitherto depended on the *najib* guards, now disarmed, the Marine Brigade was sent from Patna, whilst provision was made for the protection of the opium godown by an increase to the detachment from Dinapore.

On the 29th June Mr Money with a company of the Madras Rifles under Captain Young and 5 European police surprised a party of rebels under Hetum Singh, a brother of Jodhur Singh in the village of Nimawan. They fled precipitately till they reached the banks of the river Pun Pun, where they seemed inclined to make a slight resistance; but they eventually made off, having lost three of their number.

Captain Rattray with a portion of his battalion, 300 Infantry and 50 Cavalry had been despatched across the Sone in order to the clearance of the Gaya district. After dispersing one party of the enemy near Arwal *ghat* his attention was given to the main body under *Jodhur* Singh of whose movements he had trustworthy intelligence and on the morning of the 4th July he succeeded in coming up with and engaging them at a place called Kasma. The particulars of this action have been fully detailed in Captain Rattray's and Mr Money's letters, published in the *Government Gazette* and it is unnecessary to say more than that the Sikhs fought with their accustomed gallantry that Jodhur Singh's force was completely defeated with a loss of about 100 men, and that this victory had the effect of clearing the whole of the Gaya district.

Soon after this Captain Rattray returned to Dehri, and since then he has succeeded in capturing the notorious freebooter Sarnam Singh, and destroying the whole of the male members of his family who formed his gang. This man, having established himself on one of the [illegible] of the Khaira hills, had long been the [illegible]. His capture was effected by a clever stratagem. [illegible] Captain Rattray's Battalion, [illegible] more than [illegible] sepoy of the late 56th N. I. [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

From the Bihar districts north of the Ganges, the rebels, not meeting with the sympathy they expected, seem completely to have retired.

In Shahabad alone do they now maintain any footing, but here they are still strong, and more particularly in the neighbourhood of Arrah and the country south of it Lately they for a short time occupied, and cut off the communication in, the Grand Trunk road between Benares and Sasseram, but they were speedily dislodged from the position they had taken up here They have carried their marauding expeditions to within 5 or 6 miles of the station of Arrah, and on one occasion had the hardihood to enter that station and burn down a bungalow They were pursued by a small party of Cavalry under Lieutenant Beadon, and eventually by a body of upwards of 200 men consisting of detachments of H M's 10th and 35th regiments, the Bengal Police Battalion and 3rd Sikh Cavalry under the personal command of Lieutenant Colonel Walter, commanding at Arrah They came up with the enemy, estimated at about 500, in the village of Sarthua, from which they were dislodged with some loss, the only casualties in our side being two privates of H M.s 10th Foot, slightly wounded, and two deaths from sun-stroke The village, which belonged to the rebel chief Ummer Singh, was destroyed. This occurred on the 7th of July

I ought before this to have mentioned that General Lugard, having been obliged to leave on sick certificate, the whole of the military arrangements for the expulsion of the rebels has been placed in the hands of Brigadier Douglas, and special measures have been taken for the protection of the Grand Trunk road

Mr Samuells has issued highly judicious orders for the reorganisation of the police, and, as far as possible, for co-operation with the military, and I trust the time is not far distant when the whole province of Bihar will be restored to its ordinary tranquillity, though it will probably be some time before we can expect a return of that confidence in our prestige which has been thus rudely shaken

I shall no longer delay the conclusion of this paper, which has been held back in the hope that circumstances would enable me to report the final withdrawal of the rebels and the return of peace to the province, but I must not omit to record the names of those under my jurisdiction who have been prominently brought forward in the course of the later events

Of the ability, zeal and judgment of Mr Samuells it is not easy to say too much Accepting the appointment of Commissioner at a most critical time, and under circumstances which increased the difficulties of that arduous position, he has throughout conducted matters with a tact and discretion, and at the same time an untiring activity and energy

which have merited my warmest approbation. A reference to the narrative will show the extreme difficulties which this Division has presented—a Division which internally as well as externally from its position in the map, as well as from the character of its semi military population has been subjected far more to disturbing causes than any other Division in Bengal and if a part of this province is still unhappily convulsed, it is, I am bound to say from no failure on the part of Mr Samuells to make use of such resources as were at his disposal. He may point with just pride to the tranquillity that was maintained through almost the whole of his Division from October in last year to April in this, and even now to the pacific state of the city of Patna itself which was held to be a hot bed of intrigue and conspiracy but which, with little but the ordinary means at his disposal, he has maintained undisturbed, even though marauding parties of rebels approached to within 10 miles of its walls

Mr Samuells has, from time to time brought prominently forward the names of the civil officers in the various districts who have particularly distinguished themselves, as well as of the indigo planters and others who have come forward to the assistance of Government Those who did good service in the earlier part of the rebellion have been already conspicuously noticed in the part of the narrative which refers to that time.

Mr McDonell Magistrate of Saran, was specially appointed to accompany the force which, under Brigadier Douglas and General Lugard crossed into the Shahabad district from Azimghar Of his services the Commissioner speaks most highly and I am sure that he deserves all that can be said of him. His assistance in crossing the troops into the district was most valuable He was with General Sir E. Lugard during the whole of the operations and always took the field with the force I have reason to know that the General entertained a very high opinion of him.

Mr Richardson, Collector of Saran, who also conducted the duties of Magistrate during Mr McDonell's absence has, on this as on other occasions proved himself a most efficient public officer He was very active and successful in the pursuit and apprehension of mutineers and in every way justifies the high encomium passed upon him by the Commissioner

Mr Atherton, the Judge of Saran has also been very useful and energetic [illegible] turn [illegible] district

Mr L. McDonell, Sub Deputy Opium Agent in Saran has most conspicuously [illegible] from first to last during the whole course of the disturbances [illegible] only has he been most active and

energetic in his own particular department, but, in addition to other services which have been already noticed in this narrative, he has raised and superintended the drill of the Siwan Levy which, under Captain Miles, has done good service in Saran He has more than confirmed the good opinion that was always entertained of him

Mr Pugho, Sub-Deputy Opium Agent, has also merited and received high commendation for the manner in which his duties have been performed under circumstances of great difficulty

Mr Brodhurst, Magistrate of Arrah, has exerted himself very strenuously during the occupation of his district by the enemy, and both he and Mr Colvin, his Assistant, (who, it will be remembered, took part in the defence of Arrah) have been more than once in the field in the course of the late events

Mr E Baker, Deputy Magistrate of Sasseram, has been obliged to take temporary leave on sick certificate In another narrative (that of the Chota Nagpur Division) he has been mentioned as accompanying an expedition into Palamau He has several times taken an active part in operations in the field, and has conducted his civil duties, which have been very onerous, to the entire satisfaction of the Commissioner and myself

Mr Dampier, the Magistrate of Tirhut, has received frequent and honorable mention from the Commissioner He is a most energetic officer

The services of Mr Money, Magistrate of Gaya, have been prominently brought forward in the early part of the narrative, and, during the late partial occupation of his district by the rebels, he has again distinguished himself. It has been noticed that he took a personal and active part in the pursuit of Jodhur Singh, both with Captain Young and Captain Rattray, and was present in the action at Kasma

The names of the following gentlemen have been specially mentioned by the officers in whose districts they reside —

In Tirhut, Mr Hudson, of Serya factory, Mr Charles Gale, of Deorea, with Messrs J Gale and W Howell, his assistants

In Motihari, Mr J Slade, of Rajpur factory, and Mr Alexander Urquhart All these gentlemen have been most active in procuring information, watching the ferries, and exerting themselves in every way Mr Urquhart also furnished a body of peons to assist the police, and gave quarters for two days to a detachment of the marine brigade. They have all received my warm acknowledgments

Mr Dampier also mentioned the names of three of his subordinate native officials as deserving of great credit, *viz*, Keola Put, *daroga* of Pusa, Keola Parshad *jamadar*, Dani Lal, *naib nazir* of the *faujdari* Court.

The services rendered by the Rajas of Deo and Hatwa have been so frequently mentioned that it is unnecessary further to allude to them. The Bettia Raja has also afforded considerable assistance, and suitable acknowledgments have been made to all these noblemen.

In conclusion I feel that I cannot too often repeat my very high opinion of the services rendered by Captain Rattray his officers and his Battalion. To dilate on these services is unnecessary The facts speak for themselves. I can only trust that they will receive the rewards which their bravery endurance and successes have so richly merited

CHOTA NAGPUR AND CUTTACK

During the whole period of the outbreaks, the Division of Chota Nâgpur has been a source of anxiety and uneasiness, and from time to time of embarrassment and difficulty and even of actual danger In fact no Division in the whole of Bengal has been subject to such continued disturbance as this province. It extends along the whole length of the Grand Trunk road from Raniganj almost to Shergati a distance of not less than 100 miles, and its scattered and not easily accessible stations were garrisoned by native troops who, in almost every instance, broke out into open mutiny the stations being abandoned the jails broken open, and bands of convicts scattered over the face of the country the treasuries plundered, and the lives of the European officers only saved by timely flight Its population is composed chiefly of half savages ignorant and highly excitable, with a number of petty chiefs able at any time to collect a rabble round them, and now formidable from the disaffection of the very troops intended to keep them in check.

In Palamau, in Chaibassa, and in Sambalpur there have been rebellions, the dying embers of which are still feebly smouldering and which have given occasion for the display in many instances, of native loyalty and attachment, and of European courage and conduct.

In the following narrative I shall, for the sake of convenience associate the Division of Cuttack with that of Chota Nagpur Cuttack itself may be said to have been altogether unaffected by the recent outbreak, except perhaps on its very borders, where though the boundaries of the two Divisions (Cuttack and Chota Nagpur) may be geographically defined, the tribes and their interests are so mixed up that it is difficult to distinguish between them. Besides which for some few months the district of Sambalpur which belonged to the Chota Nagpur Commissionership, has, owing to the difficulty of access from the north, and the great amount of work which pressed on the Commissioner been attached to the Cuttack Division Very lately and probably as a temporary arrangement a Special Commissioner has been appointed to

Sambalpur, who, with reference to the still disturbed state of the district, exercises the chief authority both civil and military

So much being premised, I proceed to give a sketch of the events in Chota Nagpur and Cuttack as if they formed a single Division

At the commencement of the outbreak, the various stations of Hazaribagh Ranchi, (or Doranda), Purulia, Chaibassa and Sambalpur were occupied by detachments of the Ramghar Battalion, which consisted of a full corps of infantry with cavalry and artillery attached This, though a local corps, was composed, to a great extent, of Hindustanis, in fact of the same material as the regiments of the line There were, moreover, two detachments of the 7th and 8th N I at Ranchi and Hazaribagh respectively From the former place the detachment of the 7th was sent away before any outbreak occurred, and the uneasiness which their presence had caused was temporarily allayed Little confidence was placed in the Ramghar Battalion's loyalty, which was supposed to depend on the fidelity or otherwise of the troops at Dinapore, whilst the artillery at Ranchi was openly distrusted even by the commanding officer At Hazaribagh in particular great fears were entertained There was a treasury, with upwards of a *lakh* of rupees in it, and two jails containing 900 prisoners No European troops could be spared either to replace or disarm these troops, and, beyond temporary additions to the Police force at the various stations, nothing could be done No overt act was, however, committed till the 30th of July, when the troops at Hazaribagh, consisting chiefly of two companies of the 8th N I, heard of the events at Dinapore, mutinied, plundered the treasury and released the prisoners, and, after destroying a great deal of private property, left the station The residents saved their lives by timely flight

Meanwhile a detachment of the Ramghar Battalion, with two guns, under Lieutenant Graham, had been sent from Doranda to attack the two companies of the 8th , but, having received on the road the news of their mutiny, they also broke into open revolt, and seizing the guns, ammunition and elephants which accompanied them marched back to Ranchi with avowed hostile intentions towards the British residents there. No doubt existing that the head quarters of the corps stationed at Doranda* would join them the Commissioner, Captain Dalton, with the other Europeans reluctantly quitted the station, which they had not left an hour before the mutineers arriving, having burnt down some of the bungalows, took possession of the treasury, containing about a *lakh* of rupees, released the prisoners, and fired cannon at the Church The mutineers were joined by the troops at the military station of Doranda

* Ranchi is the civil station, Doranda the military cantonment, separated the one from the other by a distance of 3 or 4 miles.

The cavalry portion of the force refused to join the mutineers. Those with Lieutenant Graham, under *jamadar* Amiadin Khan, stood by that officer and accompanied him to Hazaribagh, where also a few men of the infantry with 2 native officers, had joined him whilst a detachment at Barhi on the Grand Trunk road, under *naib risaldar* Shaikh Mulla Baksh were preserving order and doing good service.

Captain Dalton retreated on Hazaribagh, and, with the small force at his command, proceeded to restore order at that place, recovering plundered property recapturing prisoners, arresting suspected persons, and reopening the courts and bazars.

The Ramghar Raja both now and afterwards rendered efficient aid to Government, for which he has received my thanks. Captain Dalton's conduct merited my high approval.

At Purulia events of a similar character took place on the 5th of August. Here too was a treasury containing upwards of a *lakh* of rupees, and a jail with between 200 and 300 prisoners, and, when it appeared that the outbreak was imminent, the European officers retired to Raniganj.

Immediate measures were taken for the protection of the Grand Trunk road a part of the wing of Rattray's Police Battalion was moved up from Suri, and a company of H M s 35th was sent to Raniganj

Whilst such was the state of affairs in the districts lying along and near the Grand Trunk road, great uneasiness was felt at Chaibassa and Sambalpur The principal Assistant Commissioner in charge of the former station, on hearing of the mutiny at Ranchi, unnecessarily abandoned his station, and placed himself under the protection of the Raja of Seraikhela, who furnished him with an escort to proceed to Ranigang, and the Raja himself took prompt, and, for the time successful measures for the protection of Chaibassa.

In consequence of this abandonment of his post this officer was subsequently removed, and Lieutenant Birch was appointed in his room. It appears that previously to his departure the principal Assistant Commissioner had committed the care of the district to Chakardhari Sing the Raja of Seraikhela, and had issued summonses to the various petty chiefs, to send in their separate contingents. There was no backwardness shown except on the part of the Porahat Raja who, from jealousy of the Seraikhela chief, refused to send in his quota, or even to acknowledge the genuineness of the summons. Had there been any European officer present there can be little doubt that the irregular force thus collected would have been sufficient to prevent any attempt at mutiny but, with no one to control them, petty jealousies broke out amongst the retainers of the various chiefs, and, thus disunited, they did not

venture to act against the disciplined sepoys But it was not till upwards of a month after the Doranda mutiny, and when emissaries from that place had been sent, returned, and again been sent to Chaibassa, that the sepoys, persuaded that the British rule was at an end, at last in the beginning of September plundered the treasury, broke open the jail, and marching out of the station, after failing to cross the Sangai, which was swollen by recent rain and being subjected to constant harassing attacks from bands of Kols who followed them and cut up all stragglers, they finally accepted the invitation of the Porahat Raja, and placed themselves and the treasure they had with them under his protection. It may very reasonably be supposed that, had not the station been abandoned by the chief authority, this detachment, like that at Sambalpur, would have remained staunch to the present hour

The subsequent proceedings of the Porahat Raja, with the effects they have produced, will form a prominent feature of my narrative; but I must now return to the relation of contemporary events in other parts of the Division

It was for a long time believed that the companies of the 8th N I, which mutinied at Hazaribagh, had gone off in the direction of Sambalpur, and the Commissioner of Cuttack was directed to send a portion of the Madras troops, stationed at Cuttack, towards that station The report, however, turned out incorrect, and up to the end of August Captain Leigh, the principal Assistant Commissioner, was able to report all quiet

The *subadar* in command at this post, Shaik Panch Kowri Khan, received a letter from the native officer who had assumed command at Ranchi, directing him to move to the latter station with the treasure, releasing the convicts in the jail to act as coolies The *subadar*, however, communicated the letter to Captain Leigh, and was using every exertion to keep his detachment faithful

On the 13th August Captain Dalton found it necessary to fall back from Hazaribagh to Bagoda He was informed that reinforcements would immediately be sent up

On the 18th of August I caused martial law to be proclaimed in all the districts forming the Chota Nagpur Division

On the 28th of August the Commissioner re-occupied Hazaribagh with 150 Sikhs of Rattray's Battalion Immediate measures were also taken for the re-occupation of Purulia

The officers of the Ramghar Battalion were directed to employ themselves in raising a police corps in the Chota Nagpur agency, and I may add here that the experiment seems to have been very successful. The men entertained are Kols and Sonthals, and in a recent letter received

from the Commissioner he speaks most highly of this new levy, and of the great credit due to Lieutenants Reeves and Middleton for the manner in which they have brought into a high state of discipline these men who, but a few months since, were untaught savages.

The Ranchi mutineers were still at that station. Some disputes had arisen, and the men who had been enlisted in the province were not disposed to agree with the Hindustanis. Hitherto no division of the treasure had taken place, and these native officers who had their houses in the province, seemed to wish to compromise themselves as little as possible and in this state matters remained till the 11th September when, after having plundered the town and destroyed some of the public buildings they marched with 4 guns and a considerable quantity of ammunition and plunder towards Tikhu *ghat* apparently with the intention of making their way through Palamau and joining Koer Sing who was at this time supposed to be at or near Rhotas.

The troopers took this opportunity of making their escape and joined their officers at Hazaribagh only 4 accompanied the rebels.

Meanwhile a Column under Colonel Fischer, of the Madras Army had been sent up the Grand Trunk road, with the view of clearing the road and of acting against the mutineers wherever they might be found.

A portion of this Column, consisting of 180 of H M's 53rd, and a wing of the 27th Madras N I., with two guns, was now detached under Major English and marched towards Ranchi through Hazaribagh, whilst Colonel Fischer proceeded up the Grand Trunk road so as to be in a position to act in the Palamau direction should it prove necessary

Major English, accompanied by Captain Dalton the Commissioner reached Ranchi on the 23rd, where less destruction than was expected was found to have taken place the records had been almost entirely destroyed, but the public buildings had sustained little damage and order and confidence were soon restored; but Major English not considering himself *warranted by his instructions in any pursuit of the mutineers,* returned towards Hazaribagh *en route* to the Grand Trunk road.

On the 11th September Captain C. N. Oakes, accompanied by a party of volunteer Sikhs, who had been taken from various corps of the Line and embodied, re occupied Purulia without opposition The Raja of Jalda, a prisoner in the Hazaribagh jail, had been released by the mutineers, and had made use of his liberty to close the passes between Ranchi and Purulia so as to prevent the mutineers from moving in that direction. He now presented himself to Captain Oakes to whom he had furnished a small Contingent He was allowed to be at large for the present (having executed an agreement to appear whenever called for) and a small sum was advanced him to enable him to entertain men to keep

the *ghats* closed against mutineers and marauders, and a promise was made that his case should be favourably represented to Government He has since received a remission of his original sentence

Lieutenant Birch, who had accompanied Captain Oakes thus far, proceeded from hence accompanied by the faithful Raja of Seraikhela, the *zamindar* of Karsawa, and 3,000 Kols, to Chaibassa, which he reached on the 16th September, and thus by the end of September all the stations which had been abandoned were re-occupied

Slight disturbances had taken place in various parts of the district in which the actors were either escaped convicts or bands of marauding Sonthals, nor was much difficulty found in coercing them The Sonthal raids were chiefly confined to the country near Hazaribagh and the eastern districts A column, under Brigadier Berkely, surprised a large body of them near Dumri on the Grand Trunk road. Lieutenant Graham, with a small detachment, twice attacked them successfully in the neighbourhood of Narainpur, and Major Simpson, with a body of Sikhs, inflicted some chastisement on a noted Sonthal chief

Some rather serious disturbances were said to have taken place in the part of the district bordering on Pachete, and, as will be seen hereafter, the Pachete *zamindar* rendered himself liable to suspicion, and was placed under arrest previous to being brought to trial on serious charges

To return to the Ranchi mutineers Having in vain attempted to make their way through the Thibu pass, they suddenly turned northward towards the Grand Trunk road, and reached Chattra about the 30th September Here they halted for a couple of days, and Major English, (whose instructions were positive to lose no time in returning to the Grand Trunk road, but who had agreed, at the urgent representation of the Commissioner, to take the route from Hazaribagh *viâ* Chattra to Shergati) with 150 of H M's 53rd and 150 of Rattray's Sikhs under Lieutenant Earle, was able to overtake and attack them here He found them posted with 600 men and 4 guns, and after a severe struggle he succeeded in capturing the guns one after another, and completely defeated and dispersed the enemy, who broke and fled, leaving their ammunition, treasure and camp equipage and the whole of their plunder Their loss in killed and wounded was said to be upwards of 150 Our loss amounted to 56 killed and wounded, of whom not less than 46 were Europeans Two of the principal mutineers, *subadar* Jaimangal Pandy and *subadar* Nadir Ali, were taken in the jungles, tried and hanged The conspicuous gallantry displayed by sepoy Uthum Sing, of the Bengal police battalion, was rewarded by his promotion to a *havildarship* in the field by Major English The appointment was afterwards confirmed by the Government.

Chota Nagpur was thus cleared of the main body of the mutineers early in October The stations which had been abandoned, viz., Hazaribagh, Ranchi (and Doranda), Purulia and Chaibassa were all re-occupied, whilst Sambalpur remained in the occupation of the principal Assistant Commissioner Captain Leigh.

With the exception of some petty disturbances likely to arise from the state of anarchy caused by the mutinies and the consequent necessary abandonment of the stations, the northern part of the Division might now be considered manageable with the means at the disposal of the Commissioner and his subordinates but in the southern portion considerable uncertainty still prevailed. Captain Oakes reported from Purulia that the Sonthals in Manbhum were in a state of high excitement, whilst Nilmani Sing Deo the *zamindar* of Pachete, who has been before alluded to, was said to be arming his retainers and in other ways assuming a warlike attitude. In Singbhum also the Porahat Raja seemed likely to give trouble as I shall shortly have occasion to detail, and it was thought advisable, with reference to the difficulty of communication between the northern and southern parts of the Division to place the districts of Manbhum and Singbhum under the temporary charge of the Commissioner of Burdwan, whilst, at a later date, Sambalpur was also, as a temporary arrangement, made over to the Commissioner of Cuttack.

I may dismiss the district of Manbhum by saying that a wing of the Shekawati Battalion having been placed under my orders, was sent into that district, and, backed by these troops the officiating Commissioner found little difficulty in arresting the Pachete *zamindar* who, unprepared to resist the force sent to coerce him surrendered to Colonel Foster in the early part of November His fort was searched, and 4 pieces of artillery with other munitions of war were found in it. Since his capture Manbhum has been undisturbed except by occasional *dacoities*

Singbhum and Sambalpur will require much more extended notice and indeed in neither of these districts can it be said that tranquillity is completely restored even up to the time at which I am writing. It will be remembered that, on the eventual outbreak of the detachment at Chaibassa, the Porahat Raja had invited the sepoys to join him which they had done making over to him the greater part of the money taken from the Government treasury On the arrival of Lieutenant Birch at Chaibassa, he peremptorily called on the Raja to deliver himself up, restore the Government treasure and make over to him the rebellious sepoys. After numerous professions of his intention to do as he was ordered, and after wavering for some time he at length, instead of surrendering himself, as he had been ordered, to the principal Assistant

Commissioner at Chaibassa, marched off to Ranchi, and there made over to the Commissioner, Captain Dalton, the whole of the plundered treasure, with 100 sepoys as prisoners He himself was reproved for his disobedience of orders, and directed at once to return to Chaibassa and give himself up to Lieutenant Birch for trial It is as well to mention here that the 100 sepoys made over to the Commissioner, having been tried and found more or less guilty, were sentenced—43 to be hung, and the remainder to transportation or imprisonment for various terms The sentences were carried out

In the meantime the Porahat Raja excused himself on various pretences from presenting himself to Lieutenant Birch He was said to be completely in the hands of his *dewan*, a man named Juggoo, for whose apprehension, on account of previous delinquencies, a reward had been before offered by the Government. This man was reported to be doing his best to excite the Kols to rise, and using all his influence with the Raja to prevent his submitting himself to Lieutenant Birch

The Raja, however, still continued to profess loyalty and his intention of keeping his pledges, and, as all seemed quiet in the district, the principal men having renewed their submission, and the people being, to all appearances, peaceably inclined and engaged in gathering in their harvest, Lieutenant Birch, (who had, in the meantime, been reinforced by 100 Sikhs under Captain Montgomery), for some time took no active steps against the Raja, who, though now disobedient to orders, seemed entitled to some consideration as having proved his sincerity by giving up the mutineers and treasure, but at length, towards the end of November, perceiving that there was little chance of the Raja voluntarily surrendering himself, and being apprehensive of the machinations of Juggoo *dewan*, Lieutenant Birch determined on an expedition against the rebel force, which had, by this time, collected about the Raja On his way to the position they had taken up, he surprised and captured Juggoo *dewan*, (who was summarily tried, sentenced and hanged), and was completely successful in a well-managed attack on the Raja's stronghold, though the Raja himself had just time to effect his escape into the neighbouring jungle Here again the Chief of Seraikhela afforded great assistance to Lieutenant Birch, as did the *zamindars* and petty chiefs, all of whom have since been rewarded

Again for some little time tranquillity appeared to be established, but an uneasy feeling was abroad—the Raja Arjun Sing was still at large, his influence amongst the Kols was great, and by the end of December Mr Lushington, the late officiating Commissioner of Burdwan, who had been temporarily appointed Special Commissioner for the districts

of Manbhum and Singbhum, had to report the existence of a wide spread insurrection amongst the various tribes in Singbhum.

The only force at the disposal of the Commissioner at this time was a body of volunteer Sikhs under Captain Hale.

On the 25th of December Captain Hale's party supported by the followers of the Seraikhela Raja, attacked and dispersed a large assemblage of Kols and others led on by a brother of the Porahat Raja but, though our measures were so far successful, it now appeared evident that without reinforcements the insurrection could not be effectually quelled, and I was again permitted to avail myself of the services of the Shekawati Battalion under Colonel Foster who was at this time at Raniganj. He was directed to move on Chaibassa as soon as arrangements for his march could be made.

Meanwhile Arjun Sing and his brother were exerting themselves to the utmost to raise the whole Kolhan in insurrection, and, though a large proportion of the Kols were still well affected towards Government, a formidable opposition was organised.

On the 14th January the Commissioner accompanied by the Senior Assistant Commissioner together with 50 or 60 Sikhs under Captain Hale, went out with the intention of punishing the murderers of a *jamadar* and 2 *burkanda es* at a place called Bar I ir Having succeeded in capturing 2 of the petty *sardars* who had been concerned in this outrage, they were preparing to return to the station when they were informed of the presence of a body of hostile Kols in their immediate neighbourhood

An attack was at once decided on Advancing to the bank of the Mogra river they were opposed by a small body of insurgents whom they easily dispersed, and, having destroyed a village which they had reached, they were on their way back by a different route when on crossing the deep bed of a dry *nala* they found it swarming with the enemy who, thus ambushed, attacked them suddenly with a shower of arrows, and, to the number of not less than 3000 or 4000, regardless of their own losses, followed the little band for some distance not relinquishing the pursuit till they emerged from the jun le into the open pla n Not an officer escaped unhurt Captain Hale commanding the S khs was wounded in 4 places, Lieutenant Birch s arm wa pinned to h s side by an arrow whilst Mr Lushington and Dr Hayes, the only others present, were also, though less severely wounded Of the 50 Sikhs, who all behaved most gallantly 25 were more or less severely wounded one mortally and one man was killed. The enemy are said to have left 150 dead on the field.

On return to the camp it was determ ned at once to return to Cha

bassa, lest the enemy should cut off the retreat, in which case, hampered as they were with wounded and straitened for provisions, they would have found it almost impossible to force their way to the station

In the absence of all other carriage for the wounded it was necessary to take the elephants, which carried their tent equipage, which was, therefore, unavoidably abandoned, but which, it is as well to mention here, was subsequently recovered

The insurgent Kols pursued the party for a distance of 7 miles, but were kept in check by the steady behaviour of the unwounded men, who protected the rear, and the station was reached without further casualty

About the same time an attack was made on Chakradarpur, the residence of the Porahat Raja, but at this time occupied by the friendly chief of Seraikhela who, though protected by a force of 300 matchlockmen and two guns, yielded to a very inferior force and pusillanimously fled

Both these affairs tended naturally to encourage the rebels and temporarily to weaken our prestige with the more loyal part of the population, yet, notwithstanding this, the insurrection seemed almost entirely confined to those Kols who had in former times been retainers of the Rajas of Porahat, and even of these the inhabitants of the southern portion of the district were disheartened by the loss they had sustained in the action near the Mogra, which, though we had suffered severely, had been still more disastrous to them, but, on the other hand, the more westerly population were animated by the easy victory they had gained over the Seraikhela chief

By the 17th January, Colonel Foster having made rapid marches, had reached Chaibassa with the Shekawati Battalion, and in concert with the Commissioner was taking means for the pacification of the district, and, with reference to the more actively disturbed parts, it was determined to make the first move in that direction

At Chakradarpur a thousand men were said to be collected These fled on the approach of Colonel Foster, and the village was destroyed From hence the force proceeded to Porahat, burning many villages and seizing a large quantity of grain and cattle

But in the southern part of the district the Kols were again collecting in considerable numbers, and a large force had assembled at the Siringsella Pass Colonel Foster, who had in the meantime been reinforced by a body of 50 European sailors, which I had sent up from Midnapore, by a judicious disposition of his forces succeeded in driving the enemy from the positions they had taken up in the jungles and hills, killing a considerable number of his opponents, whilst his own casualties consisted of 7 wounded.

It is unnecessary to give the details of the different expeditions. With

the exception mentioned, little or no resistance was offered; but a severe example, especially in such times as these, was called for The Raja and his people had provoked their own punishment. Numerous proclamations had been published, and many efforts had been made, through the Raja's own private friends and connections, to induce him to submit himself to the Government in particular a notice was issued and conveyed to the Raja in his jungly hiding place, that if he failed to deliver himself up within one month his estates would be confiscated; but a conciliatory policy had proved ineffectual, and, to ensure present safety and future tranquillity stern retributive measures were demanded, and the desired effect was produced. The petty chiefs, seeing that we had the power to coerce them, soon commenced to make their submission, and the more readily when it was found that submission was followed by forgiveness.

The Raja, however though towards the expiration of the time allowed him for consideration he seemed inclined to enter into some negotiation with Mr Lushington, allowed the month to pass without surrendering himself and, after a still further term given him in the hope of his yielding had also gone by the Commissioner declared his estates forfeit. I may add that up to the present time he is still a fugitive in the jungles, though Captain Dalton, who has resumed the Commissionership of Manbhum and Singbhum, has lately expressed a hope that he will at length be persuaded to surrender himself His obstinacy has been most pertinacious; but, if he should ultimately come in, there are obvious circumstances in his case which will cause him to be mercifully treated

I need add little more to this portion of my narrative, except to say that, when Mr Lushington made over charge to Captain Dalton, tranquillity seemed to be in a great measure restored. The services of the Shekawati Battalion were dispensed with, as far as this district was concerned, at the end of February and the Battalion was sent to Sambalpur

Some uneasiness, however continued to exist in the district. A strong *feeling of hostility seemed to be entertained by the Kols* against our ally the Raja of Seraikhela, whilst the Porahat Raja urged it is said, by the evil counsels of the *dewan* Rughoo Deo, still refused to deliver himself up to the authorities, though petitions have been received from him professing his willingness to surrender Certain of the insurgent Kols still cling to his fortunes In March an attack was made on the camp of the Assistant Commissioner by a body of Kols estimated at oooo, and, though they were repulsed without difficulty they succeeded in driving off a quantity of cattle then grazing in the jungle

In April another attack resulted in the defeat of the insurgents by a part of the Naval Brigade at Chakradarpur and a few Seraikhela men On this occasion thirty of the enemy were taken prisoners

Again, towards the end of May a gallant affair took place under Mr Welden, 1st officer of the Naval Brigade, who, with Mr Scott, the 2nd Officer, and 26 men of the Brigade, a small body of the Seraikhela men and two *sawars*, was sent to punish the insurgent Kols for an attack on some friendly villages After having destroyed 3 of the enemy's camps with little opposition, the party was gradually drawn on to a rocky basin covered with dense jungle Here they found themselves surrounded by the enemy, who from the heights poured down a shower of arrows and matchlock balls Mr Welden made good his retreat till, reaching the open country, he faced about and drove his opponents back, killing some 30 of them and wounding many more, himself having only one man severely wounded

On the 9th of June some thousands of Kols surrounded the camp of the Naval Brigade at Chakradarpur, and Captain Moncrieff, the Assistant Commissioner, who was returning from Chaibassa, whither he had been to see the Commissioner, had to fight his way into the camp, 3 out of his 4 *sawars* being wounded

On the 10th and 11th they were successfully attacked by Mr Welden, and on the 12th, on the arrival of reinforcements under Lieutenant Reeves, they made off A pursuit was attempted, but was soon abandoned on account of the extreme heat

Since this, an addition of 50 men, with 2 more howitzers, has been made to the Naval Brigade at Chaibassa Captain Moncrieff has lately succeeded in destroying one of their camps, and he has, moreover, made seizure of immense stores of grain in the jungles

The services of Mr Lushington being no longer required in Singbhum he returned to Calcutta in February I have great gratification in recording that both in Manbhum and Singbhum he has conducted the charge entrusted to him with great tact and judgment, and has accomplished all that was possible with the means at his disposal

Lieutenant Birch is an officer of great energy, and has displayed great courage, ability and firmness during the whole time he has been employed in Singbhum

The services of the Seraikhela chief have already been noticed, and Mr Lushington has brought prominently forward the conduct of the Karsawa *zamindar*, who had been very forward in rendering assistance to Government

Earlier in the narrative I have said that all remained quiet in Sambalpur up to the end of August, but even in that month rumours

of insurrectionary movements had begun to spread, and, though no actual outbreak occurred for some considerable time, yet the storm which afterwards disturbed the peace of this district had already begun to gather.

Early in September two companies of Madras troops had been ordered up from Cuttack to Sambalpur by Mr Cockburn, the Commissioner partly with reference to any outbreak that might be contemplated by the detachment of the Ramghar Battalion at that station, and partly with a view to the prevention of disturbance in the district from other causes, and this judicious movement was probably the means of saving Sambalpur.

The ordinary police was also increased, and sanction was given to the raising of semi military police, consisting of 80 men, with an adequate proportion of officers. The detachment of the Ramghar Battalion 150 foot and 12 horsemen, remained perfectly staunch and did good service through the whole of the troubled times.

It is now necessary to mention what were the chief disturbing causes.

Amongst the prisoners released from Hazaribagh jail were two brothers—Surundat Sahai and Udant Sahai. They were related to one of the late Rajas of Sambalpur and were under sentence of imprisonment for life, having been concerned in a serious affray in which some lives had been lost. These men soon after their release entered the Sambalpur district, where a number of followers soon collected round them and for a long time rumours were rife that they pretended to the Sambalpur Raj and were assembling their retainers with the purpose of making an attack on Sambalpur.

By the beginning of October they came into the immediate neighbourhood of the station, and the Senior Assistant Commissioner Captain Leigh, offered a reward for their apprehension. In the middle of that month they entered the town of Sambalpur and Surundar Sahai who had with him a rabble of some 1,400 or 1,600 men sent to ask Captain Leigh to grant him an interview stipulating for a safe conduct. Captain Leigh received him on these terms, and he then assured that officer that he had no intention of aspiring to the Raj, that his only object was to induce Government to cancel the remaining portion of his and his brother's imprisonment. Captain Leigh promised to represent the matter to Government and in the meantime Surundar Sahai promised to [illegible] disperse his followers and remain at Sambalpur, while Udant Sahai was permitted to reside in the village of [illegible] [illegible]. There was no great gathering in the district [illegible] of the different villages [illegible]

been as much from fear as from any other cause, and till towards the end of the month no general feeling of disaffection appeared to be excited. Then, however, suspicions began to be felt, in particular the Ghanotea of Kolabera was distrusted, and spies were sent to watch his movements.

On the 31st of October Sarundar Sahai made his escape from Sambalpur and joined his brother at Khinda, where 1400 men are now said to be assembled.

A further reinforcement of two companies of the 40th Madras Native Infantry had been despatched under Captain Knocker from Cuttack for Sambalpur on the 10th October, and with these were sent 50 men of the Orissa *paik* companies, who were to undertake the station duties and so release the regular troops for more active service, and very shortly after, on the arrival of Lieutenant Hadow of the Madras Artillery, with some light mountain guns, the Commissioner induced Major Bates to send another company under Lieutenant Hadow in charge of these guns. This officer joined by forced marches, and took part in the proceedings hereafter recorded.

On the escape of Sarundar Sahai, Captain Knocker, of the 40th Madras Native Infantry, was ordered to proceed against Khinda and Kolabera. In the latter place, which he reached on the 5th November, he destroyed the house of the Ghanotea, but he failed to capture Sarundar Sahai and his brother at Khinda, though he found their houses loopholed and prepared for defence. In only one place (Jhinghati) did he find any assemblage of armed men; their numbers were concealed by the jungle, but he killed 5 or 6 of them. Matters, however, had now assumed a serious aspect, and many of the principal *zamindars* were said to be collecting their *paiks* for the purpose of resisting the Government. Indeed, the whole country in the neighbourhood of Sambalpur was now temporarily in the hands of the insurgents, who were posted in strength at a distance of not more than 3 or 4 miles from the station, and nightly fired on our pickets. Had it not been for the timely arrival of these various reinforcements and more especially of the guns, whose power and effect were on more than one occasion successfully exhibited by Lieutenant Hadow, the authority of Government over a wide extent of country would have been utterly lost, and its recovery would have been a matter of no small difficulty.

About this time Dr Moore and Mr Apothecary Hanson, of the Madras Army, were ordered up from Ganjam to Sambalpur to afford medical aid to the troops at that station. They had reached Rampur, the residence of the Rehracole Raja, a distance of 4 marches from Sambalpur, and from hence wrote to Captain Leigh for an escort; but unfortunately, having started without waiting for this escort, and

mindful of the warnings of the Raja, they were both attacked separately on the road Dr Moore was murdered Mr Hanson escaped, and, after wandering about in the jungles for some time without food he on the second day met with the party of *sebundis* which had been sent out to escort them, and returned to the Raja of Rehracole, by whom he was kindly received. The *sebundis* of the escort, who had behaved very well, were rewarded by Captain Leigh.

So bold had the rebels now become that they even ventured to attack Captain Leigh, (who, hearing of their assembling had moved out with a considerable body of the Madras Corps to support the *sebundis*), and under cover of the jungle succeeded in killing and wounding several men of his detachment, whilst from the dense nature of the jungle, retaliation was for the present impossible.

By the beginning of December the *dák* road to Bombay was obstructed two of the *dák* stations had been burnt down, whilst large bodies were collecting in various directions and committing excesses of all sorts. Mr Cockburn, the Commissioner of Cuttack, now despatched to Sambalpur the remainder of the 40th Madras N I., under the command of Major Bates, and with him the guns and artillerymen stationed at Cuttack, whilst he sent off an urgent requisition to Ganjam for a portion of the *sebundis* stationed there.

Meanwhile, I made a strong representation to the Supreme Government, in consequence of which orders were sent to the Government of Madras to take immediate measures for strengthening Sambalpur I also, in anticipation of the sanction of Government, authorised the formation of two companies of *sebundis* for service in that district. The Governor General in Council approved of this and Captain Bird, of the *40th Madras N I., was appointed to command the Levy*

Captain Leigh the Senior Assistant Commissioner about this time applied to be relieved from his appointment. His resignation was accepted but I must add that he remained at Sambalpur doing good service till the arrival of Colonel Foster in the district.

It was at this time too that the arrangement took place for the temporary transfer of Sambalpur to the Commissionership of Cuttack and Mr Cockburn assumed official charge on the 19th December though, as will have appeared from the narrative *he had been practically in charge* of the district for some time before

He now determined on at once proceeding to Sambalpur in person and accordingly started for that place accompanied by a wing of the Madras Native Infantry and a detachment of artillery whilst he called *on the Rajas of the Tributary Mahals* to furnish the necessary contingents of *paiks*

On the 29th December Captain Wood arrived at Sambalpur from Nagpur, with a squadron of the Nagpur irregular horse, and next morning, having marched out with 73 of his own cavalry, 150 of the 40th M N I, and 50 of the Ramghar Battalion, by a carefully managed detour he surprised the enemy in a *tope* of trees, and charged down on them with his cavalry whilst the infantry came up in time to complete the rout Fifty-three were killed, a great number wounded, and several prisoners taken, whilst on our side the only casualties were a slight arrow wound received by Captain Wood himself, who killed 3 of the enemy with his own hand, and 9 horses also wounded by arrows Surundar Sahai, who was present, again managed to effect his escape, but his brother Chail Sahai was killed, and his adherents were from that time completely disheartened

But, though disheartened, the rebels were not yet convinced that submission was their best policy A party of them attacked the *dâk* station at Chamrapusa, between Sambalpur and Midnapore, and large bodies of them were still collected with hostile intentions The Raja of Rehracole had excited bitter animosity by delivering up to the authorities Mudoo Ghanotea, who was said to have organised the attack on Dr Moore and Mr Hanson This man, and 3 of his *paiks*, who were captured with him, were afterwards tried, found guilty, and executed

In the first half of January Major Bates, whose departure from Cuttack has been mentioned, arrived at Sambalpur He had, by the advice of Captain Leigh, taken a circuitous route, but had met with some opposition on his march, and had found great difficulty in procuring supplies Having arrived at Sambalpur and assumed command of all the troops in the district on the 7th January, he forced the Shergati pass, destroyed the breastwork which had been thrown up, killed 4 of the enemy, and seized a quantity of arms and ammunition Udant Sahai was holding this position

He next destroyed the village of Kolabera, which had been a nest of rebels The estate was now confiscated to Government, and shortly after the destruction of the village the Ghanotea and 13 of the most influential men gave themselves up to Major Bates The Ghanotea was afterwards convicted of treason and hanged

On the 14th January Captain Leigh, taking with him 100 of the 40th Madras N I and 30 of the Ramghar Battalion, marched out for the purpose of attacking a body of rebels who were posted in a jungly hill and protected by stone barricades Finding the force too small to attack this strong position in a dense jungle with any fair chance of success, Captain Leigh was about reluctantly to retire, when the enemy, em-

boldened by this movement descended the hill and came out into the plain to the supposed number of about 1,500. A skirmish took place and they again retreated into the jungle, leaving 4 dead. On our side one man only was slightly wounded

Mr Cockburn, accompanied by a wing of the 5th M N I under Major Wyndham, and guns under Captain Ellwyn, of the Madras artillery arrived at Sambalpur on the 20th January meeting with no active opposition, though it was threatened on more than one occasion An attack was made on one of the halting places previous to his reaching it, and the provisions prepared for his force were carried off He describes the difficulties of the route to have been very great, and bears high testimony to the manner in which all fatigues were borne and obstacles overcome by the Madras troops.

The Singhor a pass 60 miles west of Sambalpur and on the road to Nagpur was at this time forced by Captain Shakespear who, with a detachment of Nagpur cavalry attacked the insurgents, killing 11 wounding 15 and taking 3 prisoners; but, as it was necessary that this officer should lose no time in returning to his post at Raipur Captain Wood and Captain Woodbridge were sent out with detachments to occupy this position.

On the 12th February Captain Woodbridge having without due caution, approached a post held by the rebels at Paharsingurra, was unfortunately shot together with 2 sepoys of the 40th M N I who were near him. On this the whole detachment were seized with panic and fled, with the exception of 2 sepoys, Mathura Panday and Murtaba Khan of the Ramghar Battalion, both of whom were wounded in an attempt to recover Captain Woodbridge's body These men were afterwards recommended for promotion to *havildarships* Mr Cockburn, immediately on the news reaching him despatched a party under Captain Leigh, and prepared to take other means to retrieve the disaster but on the 14th Ensign Warlow attacked the position, and, driving the enemy off, recovered Captain Woodbridge's body He found them very strongly posted in a defile between two hills covered with jungle. Across the entrance of the defile they had erected a wall 7 feet high and 30 feet long. Half way up the hill on the left was another stonework which commanded the one in front whilst on the crest of the pass was a third barricade For some [illegible] rable [illegible] in front they had cleared away the jungle so that a [illegible] in that direction might at once be exposed to their full fire [illegible] take advantage of [illegible] Warlow [illegible] tion, threw out a flanking party [illegible] was to advance up the gorge and attack in front [illegible]

2 parties should be engaged This judicious arrangement had the desired effect The enemy, seeing their position turned, fled without offering any resistance, leaving behind some arms and a considerable quantity of provisions

Every means was being taken to put down the insurrection. Detachments were scattered in various parts of the district, but the nature of the country, its dense jungles and almost inaccessible hills, threw great obstacles in our way, whilst, on the other hand, they afforded cover and a ready retreat for the insurgents A successful attack was made by Captain Nicholls, of the 5th N I, on a position in the Burrapahar hills, supposed to be inaccessible to regular troops The rebels were driven from their fastness, and a store of provisions taken In the territories of the Bamra Raja, Major Wyndham had destroyed several villages and re-opened the Calcutta *dâk* road Detachments under Captain Knocker and Lieutenant and Adjutant Robinson, of the 40th M N I, were also doing good service, and Mr Cockburn speaks highly of the zeal, intelligence and ability displayed by these officers.

He mentions with great regret the death of Major Bates, which was a loss to the public service After his demise Major Wyndham assumed the command, which he subsequently made over to Captain Taylor, of the 40th M N I, himself accompanying the Commissioner of Cuttack

Mr Dyer, with a small party of Orissa and Garjat *paiks*, also destroyed some villages, and captured a number of rebels Another party at Dheogam opened the river route which had been for some months closed

Jamadar Harnath Singh, of the Ramghar Battalion, who had distinguished himself throughout the whole disturbances by his loyalty and bravery, was recommended for the 3rd class Order of Merit by Mr. Cockburn, and the Supreme Government granted the well-merited distinction

Towards the end of February some degree of tranquillity began to be restored The rebels were being hunted down in all directions, and amongst those captured were some of the *zamindars* who had been principally concerned in closing the roads to Cuttack and Calcutta. The *sebundi* Levy, which had been raised amongst the Goomsens, had arrived in Sambalpur, and seemed likley to be a most useful force The ringleaders and inciters of this outbreak were, however, still at large, and might cause further disturbance To relieve the troops, as much as possible, from harassing marches in the hot weather, Mr Cockburn established 3 principal posts for the regular troops at the points most

likely to require their presence, and arranged for 11 subordinate outposts of 25 men each of the Ramghar Battalion and the recently raised *sebundis* and, having made other dispositions for the security of the district, confiscated the estates of insurgent *zamindars* and warned the friendly *zamindars* against harbouring rebels, he returned to Cuttack. His presence was no longer required at Sambalpur for Colonel Foster who had been invested with the chief civil and military authority in the district, was immediately expected.

I have frequently had occasion to intimate my high approbation of Mr Cockburn's conduct and services during the progress of this outbreak but I must take the opportunity of once more recording the high opinion I entertain of that officer and my appreciation of the great energy zeal, intelligence and personal devotion which he has so conspicuously shown throughout the crisis. He has expressed his high opinion of the conduct of all the officers who have been named in the narrative, and of the services rendered by both the 5th and 40th Madras N I with the artillery details.

Colonel Foster on his first arrival at Sambalpur wished to retain the services of a portion of the 40th Madras N I., as well a the loyal detachment of the Ramghar Battalion, but he was shortly afterwards able to report that he could dispense with the services of all but his own regiment and the *sebundis* and for further assistance he relied on the contingents of the various local Rajas who were now willing and anxious to support his authority and afford every aid in the restoration of peace *and order At the same time, when it was proposed that a detachment* of the 40th should be retained, there appeared to be a slight feeling of discontent amongst the men who had suffered most severely from the unhealthiness of the place. I allude to the subject here simply to express my conviction that there was no mutinous feeling in the corps or even in his detachment, and, as I have already remarked the regiment has done most excellent service under most trying circumstances.

Colonel Foster with the Shekhawati Battalion, arrived at Sambalpur on the [illegible] March, and, as had been previously arranged assumed the chief civil and military authority He has been vested with the powers of a Commissioner and, being an officer of great [illegible] and [illegible] who has had favourable opportunities of becoming acquainted with the [illegible] character he seems well adapted for the [illegible]
Already has he held a very successful conference at which [illegible] principal Rajas and many of the petty chiefs [illegible] of opinion that the promise of [illegible]

The Raja of [illegible], who had been [illegible] for permitting the escape of [illegible]

Sarundar and Udant Sahai) proved his loyalty by recapturing the offender, and making him over to Colonel Foster, who, therefore, recommended the remission of the fine To this I gladly acceded, and desired that my thanks should be given to the Raja for the service rendered

Colonel Foster has brought to notice the services of Babu Rup Sing, Rai Bahadur, Munsif of Sambalpur, who has highly distinguished himself by his energy and zeal, and by the general influence which he has been able to exercise His merits will receive suitable acknowledgment

Sarundar and Udant Sahai, up to the latest date, were still at large, wandering about in the jungles, and seeking an opportunity of doing further mischief, but I feel no apprehension of any fresh outbreak in that direction, and have the utmost confidence in Colonel Foster's arrangements

In commencing this narrative I associated the Cuttack with the Chota Nagpur Division and more especially with the district of Sambalpur, but during the whole course of the recent outbreak Cuttack may be said to have remained undisturbed Rumours have from time to time been rife of apprehended danger but on inquiry they have always turned out to be without foundation, and the whole of Cuttack and the Tributary *Mahals* has been almost totally unaffected

The Raja of Keonjhur, in the Tributary *Mahals*, has rendered most constant and useful assistance during the whole course of the disturbances, and I have recommended that he should receive an additional title and a substantial addition to his revenue His *dewan*, Chandar Sikur Mahapati, has also proved himself a loyal friend to Government, and will not go unrewarded

Mr Cockburn has also most highly commended Dino Bandhu Mahanti, *tahsildar* of the Khond Mahas His *sebundis* saved Mr Hanson's life, and throughout the whole disturbances he has given every assistance in his power He has already received my thanks, has been made a Deputy Magistrate, and it is in contemplation to confer a rent-free village upon him

But disturbances of a serious character were not confined to Singbhum and Sambalpur, but extended also to Palamau The population of that district is composed chiefly of 2 tribes—the Cheroes and the Khairwars, with a sprinkling of Kols and other savages, who took little part in the outbreak, and a few Brahmins, Rajputs and others, who were opposed to the insurgents

The Cheroes, a spurious family of Rajputs, said to have originally come from Kumaon, a few centuries since, dispossessed the original reigning family and established one of their chieftains in their room. His

descendants continued long to hold the chiefship and the representative of the family the last Raja, died within the last few years, leaving no direct heirs. The Cheroes, having thus established themselves, strengthened their position by conferring *jagirs* on their followers, and numbers of these *jagirdars*, with impoverished and deeply mortgaged estates, still exist.

The Khairwars, who are scattered not only over Palamau but over the whole of Chota Nagpur are also settlers, said to have come originally from the hills west of Rhotas. They are divided into several clans, of which the principal are the Bhogtas, with whom alone we are now concerned. This tribe, inhabiting an elevated plateau between the high lands of Sirguja and the country of Palamau, from which they are further separated by a range of hills of which they hold the passes and possessing almost inaccessible fastnesses, have been long known as a race of turbulent freebooters, and their late chief died an outlaw.

On his death it was considered a wise policy to confer this territory in *jagir* on his sons Lilambar and Pitambar with a nominal quit rent, and this policy was long successful in suppressing the natural marauding tendencies of these chiefs. Unfortunately however Pitambar was at Ranchi when the outbreak took place, and thinking that here was the end of British rule, and still further confirmed in this opinion by the behaviour of the two companies of the 8th N. I. who passed through Palamau on their way to join Ummer Singh the two brothers determined on declaring their independence their first efforts being directed against the loyal Rajput *jagirdar* Thakurai Raghubar Dial Singh with whom they had long been at feud. Many of the Cheroe *jagirdars* were induced to join them, partly on the promise made of placing a Cheroe chief on the throne, partly no doubt, in the hope of retrieving their now impoverished and decayed fortunes, and late in October a force of about 500 Bhogtas, with others of the Khairwar clans and a body of Cheroes, under the leadership of Lilambar and Pitambar made an attack on Chainpur Shapur and Leslieganj. The attack on Chainpur directed as has been said against the loyal *zemindars* Raghubar Dial and Kishan Dial Singh, on account of ancient enmities—was repulsed; but at Leslieganj they succeeded in [illegible] some [illegible] the public buildings, pillaging the place and committing [illegible]

Lieutenant Graham, who was at this time [illegible] at [illegible] Assistant Commissioner in the district having [illegible] with a [illegible] body of not more than 50 men, the Bhogtas retreated [illegible] Sirguja, whither in consequence of the [illegible] not pursue them, and he was obliged to await reinforcements at Chainpur. By the end of November the whole country appeared to be [illegible] in arms

and Lieutenant Graham, with his small party, was shut up and besieged in the house of Raghubar Dial, whilst the rebels were plundering in all directions It had been proposed to send the Shekawati Battalion into Palamau, but at my urgent request two companies of H M 's 13th L I, which were at this time quartered at Sasseram, were directed to proceed under command of Major Cotter to the relief of Lieutenant Graham I at the same time called upon the Deo Raja to furnish a contingent for service in the disturbed district

On the 27th November the station of Rajara had been attacked by a very large body of Bhogtas, and Messrs Grundy and Malzar, who were employed there on the part of the Coal Company, after holding their house as long as possible, at last with some difficulty made their escape

The two companies under Major Cotter, with two guns, were accompanied by Mr Baker, the Deputy Magistrate of Sasseram, and crossed the Sone near Akbarpur on the 30th November Instructions meanwhile had been sent to Lieutenant Graham, that on being relieved he was at once to fall back with the force, advancing again hereafter when he should have the means of doing so The detachment reached Shapur on the 8th December, and were joined by Lieutenant Graham One of the principal leaders of the insurgents, Debi Bux Roy, was at this time captured On the advance of the force the rebels retreated, but burned the village of Monka, near Palamau fort, and destroyed the house of Bikari Singh, a *zamindar* of some influence, who had lent great assistance to Lieutenant Graham Major Cotter was ordered to return to Sasseram *via* Shergati to clear the *ghats* in that direction, and Lieutenant Graham accompanied him for some distance, but the rebel force seemed to be breaking up, the capture of Debi Bux Roy noted above had the effect of disheartening them, and the Deo Raja, having now joined with his Contingent of 60 matchlockmen and 100 *sawars*, I permitted that officer to return, and, advancing towards his former position, he reached Kishenpur on the 22nd December Paltan *ghat*, which had been held by the Bhogtas, was abandoned on his approach The rebels also withdrew from Chainpur, having made an unsuccessful attack on Ranka fort, where they were repulsed by Kishan Dial

By this time Lieutenant Graham had received a further reinforcement of 600 men, supplied by the *sarbarahkar* of Sirguja, and was able, not only to maintain his position, but to act on the offensive, and hearing that Premanand, *ilakadar* of Konda, was in the neighbourhood, he sent out a party which surprised this chief, the most influential leader of the Khairwar tribe, with 4 of his principal men and 75 followers.

Lilambar Sahai was still collecting men, and had lately plundered 2

villages he, however kept most carefully to the jungles, and allowed no opportunity of attacking him Sirguja was also invaded by the followers of the Singruli Raja, a contumacious dependant of the Rewah Raja, from whom he had no authority for thus acting

On the 16th January Captain Dalton himself started for Palamau with 140 men M N I under Major MacDonell, a small party of Ramghar cavalry and a body of matchlockmen under *parganait* Jagat Pal Sing a chief who on this and other occasions displayed very remarkable loyalty and attachment to the Government, and has been rewarded with a title, a *khilat* and pension. He reached Monka on the 21st January and being joined during the night by Lieutenant Graham, next morning after a reconnaissance of the Palamau fort, finding that it was held by the enemy they determined on an immediate attack, and advancing in 3 columns, against which the enemy for some time kept up a brisk but ill-directed fire, succeeded in dislodging them when they fled, leaving guns, ammunition, cattle, supplies and baggage behind them. Ten bodies of the enemy were found our loss amounted only to one killed and 2 wounded. Letters to Lilambar and Pitambar Sahai and Nuclent Manji were found with the baggage, and amongst them communications from Ummer Singh, promising immediate assistance from Koer Singh

Some leading insurgents were captured about this time Tikait *Unamo Singh, and his dewan Shaik Bikari, were convicted of being* concerned in the rebellion, and executed

The Commissioner remained at Lesliganj till the 8th February collecting supplies and making preparations, and he now determined on forcing the passes into the Bhogta country having with him a force of upwards of 2,000 men, whilst that of Lilambar and Pitambar were said to be much reduced and not to number more than 1,000. Mean while he had issued *parwanas* for the attendance of the various *jagirdars* most of whom readily responded to his call but the most powerful and influential of them all, Babu Bhawani Bux Rai, head of the Cheroo family did not, for some time make his appearance and was said to be collecting a large *force to oppose Captain Dalton and to have en*tained a number of the Ramghar mutineers. On the [illegible] of February however he too came in, and thus removed a principal obstacle to our onward movement.

Having divided his force Captain Dalton sent on [illegible] with [illegible] Dial Sing and others to Shapur to advance against the [illegible] *ghat* whilst he himself moved to the attack of the Tungari *ghat*. As he approached the place on the 10th February he learned that the insurgents, who had held possession of the pass, were [illegible] the

village of Harnam in his immediate neighbourhood Lieutenant Graham, with a party of *sawars*, dashed on, and succeeded in intercepting the enemy, and rescuing a band of captives and a herd of cattle which they were in the act of driving off Three prisoners were also taken, one a leader of some consequence Two out of the 3 were hanged, whilst the third was kept for the sake of information, which he seemed able and willing to communicate

No opposition was attempted to their entering the Bhogta country, and on the 13th they reached Chemu, on the banks of the Koel, the principal residence of the insurgent brothers, where they had a fortified house Captain Dalton crossing the Koel, the rebels did not await his attack in the village, but retreated and took up positions behind masked breastworks of stones on the sides and ridge of a hill overhanging the village These were carried in succession, and the enemy put to flight A *dafadar* of the Ramghar cavalry was killed at the beginning of the fight

The village and the fortified house were afterwards destroyed, as was Sunya, another stronghold of the rebels, close to Chemu, which was also found deserted

Large quantities of grain were seized, as well as herds of cattle, and several herdsmen, who had been captured by the rebels, were released

The Commissioner remained in the Bhogta country till the 23rd of February, but was not successful in capturing the ringleaders, Lilambar and Pitambar Parties were constantly sent out in all directions, who penetrated to their hill and jungle fastnesses, in some instances, as was evident, just as the fugitives had made their escape A few influential men were taken, but neither threats nor promises had any effect in inducing them to reveal the hiding-places of their chiefs

A full retaliation was, however, exacted for all the mischief done by them Their villages were destroyed, their goods and cattle seized, and their estates confiscated to the State, but, whilst stern justice was thus meted out to the inciters of this rebellion, every endeavour was made to conciliate their less guilty followers and the inhabitants of the country, which now seemed to be gradually settling down

In the Nawaghar hills a body of rebels was collected in the middle of March under Ganpat Rai and Bishonath Sahai Captain Dalton proceeded to Lohardaga with the intention of attacking them, but falling ill was obliged to depute the duty to Captain Oakes, who, with a party consisting of Madras Rifles, Ramghar irregular cavalry, and 160 of the Kol and Sonthal Levy, under the command of Captain Nation, by a rapid march succeeded in surrounding the enemy, who were so

completely surprised that they made no resistance. Bishonath Sahai was captured on the spot, and Ganpat Rai, who succeeded for the time in making his escape, was soon taken and brought in by some *zamindars* and matchlockmen, who had been sent in pursuit. These rebels were afterwards tried, found guilty and executed.

Nothing worthy of being recorded has since happened in the district of Palamau, and the restoration of complete tranquillity and confidence seems now only to be a question of time. Lilambar and Pitambar Sahai are still at large, miserable fugitives deserted by their followers, and the Commissioner is of opinion that no further danger need be apprehended from them.

The still disturbed state of the district of Shahabad cannot, however but give cause for anxiety in the direction of Palamau and indeed late accounts state that some bodies of mutinous sepoys have made their way into that district It would appear however as if they had resort ed thither in despair and a recent letter from the Commissioner describes them as disheartened and utterly disorganised, and apparently capable of doing little mischief

I must not quit the subject without recording my high admiration of the conduct of Lieutenant Graham who, without another Englishman near him, surrounded by thousands of the enemy never thought of a retreat, and, by maintaining his post, prevented the district from falling entirely into the hands of the insurgents I have in the course of the narrative, shown the nature of the services he has rendered and he is still more usefully employed in the tranquillization of the district.

The essential services rendered by the Thakurais Raghubar Dial Singh and Kishan Dial Singh have appeared in the course of the narrative, and Captain Dalton and Lieutenant Graham urgently put forward their claims for special reward, which assuredly will not be disregarded Lieutenant Graham also speaks in terms of praise of the conduct in the field of Rampratab Singh *karpardaz* of Kishan Dial Singh

Babu Sheo Charan Rai, *jagirdar* of Nawagarh gave protection to the native officials who, with the Government treasure and records fled from Leslie ganj when it was attacked. He also preserved order in his own villages, and gave efficient assistance when called upon.

Kunwar Bikram Singh of Manka, one of the Cheroo [illegible] proved himself from first to last a loyal and faithful su[illegible] Government. He was one of the first to join Lieutenant Graham, and his information was of great assistance. His house and property were destroyed by the insurgents, and his family only saved by some [illegible] ho[illegible]

All these have been specially recommended to the Supreme Government for rewards adequate to their merits

Captain Dalton also mentions approvingly the names of certain *jagirdars*

My estimation of the services rendered by the Deo Raja has been recorded in a separate minute.

I have thus, necessarily at some length, entered into the history of events in the districts of Singbhum, Sambalpur and Palamau In the rest of the Division nothing worthy of mention more than has been already noticed has happened since the re-occupation of Hazaribagh and Ranchi

Captain Dalton, the Commissioner of Chotá Nagpur has given me complete satisfaction, during the whole course of the disturbances I have explained under what circumstances certain of the districts included in the Commissionership were temporarily placed under other jurisdictions, and that this arose from the nature of the country, and from the simultaneous outbreak of insurrection in parts of the Division widely separated and difficult of access, not from any incompetency on the part of Captain Dalton

I have named in the course of the narrative those officers whom I consider to have specially distinguished themselves, and I have also recorded the names of native chiefs and others whose services have been prominently brought forward I now add below a further list of those who have been considered highly deserving of the approbation of Government, some of whom have also received presents, not as an adequate recompense for, but rather as a recognition of, their loyalty

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BHAGALPUR DIVISION

The Division of Bhagalpur, though not containing within itself the same apparent elements of danger as the neighbouring Division of Patna, yet was by no means free from its own causes for distrust and apprehension Its districts as in Patna command both sides of the Ganges, its garrisons, at the commencement of the outbreak, were all native, the 5th Irregulars, at the *sadar* station itself, long a subject of anxiety, at length broke out into open mutiny, the head quarters of the 32nd N I, at Bausi, remained loyal, but were a source of constant uneasiness, whilst two considerable detachments of the same regiment at different stations did actually mutiny, and caused great confusion in a part of the Division

If there was no great centre of supposed disaffection like the city of Patna, yet it must be borne in mind that this Division includes the but lately tranquillized Sonthal *Parganas*, where, though the result has

proved that no such apprehension need have been entertained, it was but natural to expect that in the presence of disturbing causes, such as the past few months have produced, some excitement would at least have been called forth But in Bhagalpur, whenever an interruption has occurred to the general peace of the Division it has been, not from any disaffection on the part of the inhabitants, but from what may be called foreign causes and, whenever the immediate cause of disturbance has passed away the disturbance has passed away with it. Very great praise is due to the Commissioner of this Division, Mr Yule, to whose exertions and the universal support and sympathy which his character and conduct have evoked the general tranquillity and security of this Division are almost entirely to be attributed

For some considerable time, after the first outbreak of the mutinies, nothing noteworthy occurred in this Division, except the treacherous murder of Sir Norman Leslie, at Rohini, in the Sonthal *Pergunnas* nor did this seem to be any evidence of widespread disaffection amongst *the troopers of the 5th Irregular Cavalry but rather to have been the* result of some personal ill feeling on the part of the 3 troopers who made the savage assault on their officers, and who were discovered and brought to justice, through the instrumentality of Imam Khan, the *Urdi* Major and some of the troopers of the corp the former obstinately declining the reward which had been offered for the apprehension of the perpetrators of the deed A handsome reward was subsequently presented to him

The mutiny of the 3 regiments at Dinapore caused considerable alarm in the Division, but all remained quiet.

At the end of July orders were sent up from the Supreme Government to disarm the 5th Irregulars at Bhagalpur but the Commissioner's very strong remonstrances, made through me prevented this step being taken, nor though subsequent events proved that the major portion of the corps was disloyal, were the arguments of the Commissioner without a considerable show of reason particularly those which urged the impossibility of simultaneously disarming the different small detachments scattered about the Division, and the consequent danger that would arise to the European officers at the various stations

[illegible] Dinapore [illegible] the Commissioner [illegible] the presence of European troops [illegible] looking to the importance of [illegible] danger that might possibly arise [illegible] 5th [illegible] thought [illegible] at Bhagalpur [illegible] which had previously prevailed at the latter place

On the 14th August, at midnight, the 5th Irregulars mutinied and left the station, without, however, doing any mischief They moved off to Rohini, where they were joined by the detachment of their regiment, and thence, (having extorted Rs 12,000 from the inhabitants,) to Bausi, which place they passed on the 16th The 32nd N I refused to aid them and by their fidelity saved the stations of Bausi and Deoghar A messenger, at the risk of life, conveyed to Colonel Burney, at Bausi, the intelligence of the mutiny, arriving just half an hour before the troopers He received a reward of Rs 1000 The authorities at Deoghar were similarly warned by a messenger who walked 80 miles in 30 hours, and who also was rewarded The *sowars* failing in their attempt to corrupt this regiment, proceeded westward by very rapid marches The Division in other respects remained tranquil, except from a little plundering by the escaped convicts from Gya, whilst on the Purnea side of the river uneasiness was felt from the proximity of the 73rd N I at Jalpaiguri

The conduct of Babu Shamalanand Mukerji at Naya Dumka was deserving of much praise. Distrusting the *sowars* of the 5th Irregulars at that station, he managed to send the treasure (Rs [illegible]000) and the prisoners to Suri The acknowledgments of Government were communicated to him Lieutenant Boddam, of the Artillery, whose name has been previously mentioned, received the special thanks of Government for the part taken by him in preserving order in the southern district

At this time the Commissioner recommended the enlistment of a body of Sonthals for Police purposes This, under the sanction of the Supreme Government, has been carried out, and there is reason to believe that they will be a useful force, and that the policy of employing men from these tribes will have a favorable result

After the affair of the 5th Irregulars, nothing worthy of being recorded occurred till the 9th October, when a detachment of the 32nd N I suddenly broke out into mutiny, murdered their commanding officer, Lieutenant Cooper, and Mr Ronald, the Assistant Commissioner, and, having plundered the bazar, marched off to Rohini and thence to the westward, following the same route as that taken by the 5th Irregulars

Some of the circumstances attending this outbreak are worth recording as illustrating the unaccountable conduct which has on many occasions been displayed by the sepoys during the late outbreak Lieutenants Cooper and Rannie and Mr Ronald, the Assistant Commissioner, were all surprised in the same bungalow, which the sepoys completely surrounded Lieutenant Cooper was an officer who implicitly trusted his men, was constantly with them in familiar intercourse, and appeared to be an object of sincere attachment Mr Ronald was an utter stranger to them, whilst Lieutenant Rannie, though of

course well known to the men, took no particular pains to please them, and, as I am informed, appeared in no way to be a favourite with them. Yet him they specially spared, calling out to him by *name to come out* of the bungalow and allowing him to leave the place unmolested, whilst they ruthlessly murdered their friend Lieutenant Cooper and the stranger Mr Ronald, of whom they could know nothing bad or good. Lieutenant Cooper was an officer of great promise and had received my thanks for his judicious conduct on the occasion of Deoghar being threatened by the 5th Irregulars, when in the absence of the Civil authorities, he had maintained confidence by opening the *cutcherry* and *carrying on the current duties*

The Head Quarters of the 32nd N I had meanwhile marched from Bausi to Raniganj and notwithstanding attempts made to tamper with them during the march on arriving at the latter place they quietly, and of their own accord, surrendered their arms.

A second detachment of the corps mutinied at Rampur Hat, as has been elsewhere detailed. On reaching the Bhagalpur Division they followed in the footsteps of the 1st detachment, but without committing any marked outrages.

Some *dacoities* occurred in the neighbourhood of Deoghar in consequence of the unsettled state of affairs but order was very soon restored in this direction.

About the end of October sanction was given by the Supreme Government to a scheme which originated with Mr Kerry an indigo planter in the Purnea district, who proposed to raise a corps of the *Tarbatias, inhabiting the Morung which divides our territories from* Nepal Mr Kerry was requested to commence enlisting these men and subsequently an officer has been appointed to the charge of them, and an establishment sanctioned on the same scale as the Bengal police Battalion. The experiment seems to promise to be very successful. Great scarcity prevailed in the Monghyr district, and in consequence there was an increase in the number of felonies, and this cause continued to operate for a considerable time The stoppage of railway and other works consequent on the disturbances created extensive distress, and later in the year and at the commencement of the present year several deaths from starvation are said to have taken place An increase of crime was naturally to be expected; but it can only remotely be traced to the prevailing disturbances.

Early in November I [illegible] to Purneah for the protection of that place in anticipation of the [illegible] contingency of an outbreak at Jalpaiguri

These men, as will be seen in the sequel, under their gallant commander, Captain Burbank, did most excellent and useful service

On the 24th November I telegraphed to Mr Yule, the Commissioner, the intelligence of the mutiny at Chittagong, and on the following day I announced the outbreak at Dacca, thinking it very possible that these events, the latter in particular, might bring matters to a crisis at Jalpaiguri, and thus affect the peace of the Purnea district It was, of course, to be expected that the detachment which had escaped from Dacca would endeavour to make its way to the headquarters of its regiment At Jalpaiguri were not only the 73rd N I, but two *risalas* of the 11th Irregular cavalry What was expected actually happened, the companies from Dacca marched straight for Jalpaiguri, but before they came near it the 11th Irregulars mutinied and went off in the direction of Purnea This much is necessary to explain Mr Yule's movements, which will here be very briefly detailed Having summoned the detachment of H M's 5th Fusiliers (50 men) from Monghyr (the services of the regiment at Bhagalpur itself had been previously dispensed with), he left Bhagalpur on the 29th November, and, taking the 100 sailors under Captain Burbank, he moved to Kissenganj as the point from which he could most readily and effectually act in any direction

With him followed all the Europeans in the Division, planters, civil officers, &c., well mounted and armed, forming a by no means insignificant body of most willing and cheerful volunteers With remarkable energy he had collected not less than 80 elephants, and with his little army he was now ready for any thing that might happen

On the 4th and 5th December two different detachments of the 11th mutinied, and went off On the 9th news reached Kissenganj that they had passed to the southward of that place. Mr Yule, putting his men on elephants, marched all night, accomplished the distance to Purnea (40 miles) before daylight, and met the *sawars*, who were leisurely marching into the place They refused to face his force, and retired a few miles The Commissioner followed, and on the morning of the 11th came up with them just as they were preparing to march On this occasion they charged with a resolution worthy of a better cause, some of them, and a *risaldar* in particular, charging up to the steady little squares which formed in admirable order to receive them, and falling dead on the bayonets, 18 or 20 bodies were afterwards found on the field and in the neighbouring jungle Under cover of a heavy fog they now retired, carrying with them many wounded One man was taken and hung Not a casualty occurred on our side

On the morning of the 12th the Commissioner, having received information that the *sawars* intended crossing the Kusi to Nathpur,

started to intercept them, and in 45 hours accomplished the 50 miles to that place, including the crossing of the Kusi with its *numerous and* extensive quicksands. Arrived here, and having halted a few days, he learned that the *sawars* had entered the Nepal Morung and were at Chatra, 36 miles north of Nathpur and, as he had received an express from Jalpaiguri urgently requesting aid against the Dacca mutineers, he determined on moving in that direction *vid* Kissenganj which (a distance of 64 miles) he reached in 36 hours, and on the 2nd December proceeded to Titalia and afterwards to a post recommended by the Jalpaiguri authorities between Siliguri and Pankabari. Having waited here till the 6th without further intelligence, he determined on moving to Chowa *ghat* on the Tista, where the Dacca party were expected to cross. On nearing the *ghat* he came in sight of the enemy's encampment in a position unfavorable for an attack, and, withdrawing into the jungle, established his force on the path by which as he was told, the enemy must pass. They however evaded him at night, taking an unfrequented by path, and on the morning of the 28th he learned that they had crossed the Mahanadi and were making for the Darjeeling road. Mr Yule, leaving his camp standing took up a position on the road, and, after waiting some hours and seeing nothing of them had just ordered his men back *to camp, when the rebels were seen crossing the* road at a little distance off. So rapid was their rush across the small open space from jungle to jungle that Mr Yule's advanced party had only time to fire a volley which killed one straggler before they again disappeared in the jungle, and the pursuit which Captain Burbank continued for 2 or 3 miles was hopeless and unsuccessful.

The fugitives having thus made good their escape into the forest Mr Yule moved parallel with them on the outskirts to prevent their making any inroad into Purnea, and reached the Kusi opposite Nathpur on the very same day that they formed a junction with the *s*[illegible] at Chatra.

An attack planned by Mr Yule on the position at Chatra failed in consequence of the rebels making a sudden retreat across the [illegible] at a most difficult ford, where many of the[illegible] *h*[illegible]*es, unable to reach th*[illegible] opposite bank, were abandoned. Major Richardson, wh[illegible] was watching the opposite bank lower down was too late to intercept them, and indeed they were in a country where it was im[illegible] for cavalry to act with effect and as has been related in the [illegible] off through the Nepal *Tarai* [illegible]

The very greatest credit att[illegible] Mr Yule for [illegible] which his wh[illegible] expedit[illegible] [illegible] proceedings a[illegible] to [illegible] been [illegible]

present slight sketch is intended not to give any adequate representation of Mr Yule's services, but by an unembellished detail to keep up the thread of the narrative Circumstances over which he could have no control prevented him from giving the rebels the severe lesson they would have received had the attack on Chatra succeeded; but, in thus keeping his Division free from all outrage, he did all and more than could have been expected with the means at his disposal. Very much of his success is attributable to the tact and judgment he evinced in collecting and maintaining the means of transport and supply for his little force, and much to the personal popularity which caused all assistance to be lent to him with so much alacrity and cheerfulness I must not omit to mention the names of those to whom the Commissioner was greatly indebted for such assistance These were Messrs F B Drummond and Simson of the Civil Service, Messrs Wood and Braddon, Assistant Commissioners, Mr St George, of the Railway, Mr Alexander, Mr G Waller and his two sons, Messrs F. and R Waller, and Messrs Burford and Cornish

Telanand Singh, of Bunah, and his co-sharer (a minor) supplied the Europeans most munificently and refused all payment Mr A Forbes of Sultanpur was most liberal in his supplies, as were Mir Mahomed Taki of Piaha, Pertab Singh through his manager, Mr J J Cave, and Mr De Courcy Raja Ahmed Reza, of Suriapur, and Mahomed Faizbux, of Dhubaih, also gave great assistance with the utmost readiness, and the two petty Muhammadan *milkdars* of Aruna and Chatragachi each presented two fat cows for the use of the men

Since these occurrences Bhagalpur has remained undisturbed, and nothing worthy of notice has been recorded

RAJSHAHI DIVISION

The Division of Rajshahi would in itself have given little cause for uneasiness during the recent disturbances Its inhabitants are of a quiet peace-loving disposition, and for many years past it has not been necessary to quarter a soldier in the Division It was only within a few months previous to the mutinies that a native regiment was stationed at Jalpaiguri, in the Rangpur district, not, however, from any necessity for the coercion of the inhabitants, but with a view to the repression of inroads which seemed to be threatened by the Bhutias along the frontier It is owing to the presence of this regiment, and of the detachment of the 11th Irregular cavalry, that any anxiety for the tranquillity of the district has been caused,—and though this corps, the 73rd, is one of the very few in the Bengal Army that still retains its arms, yet, as has been related in the preceding narrative, continual apprehensions were

entertained of its loyalty nor has it been without the exercise of the greatest courage, patience, tact and judgment on the part of the officers that an outbreak has been prevented whilst its 3 companies at Dacca resisted an attempt to disarm them, and breaking out into open mutiny excited great alarm in the districts of Dinajpur and Rangpur and—though failing to induce the main body of their own regiment to join them—were the ultimate and exciting cause of the defection and mutiny of the two *risalas* of the 11th Irregulars at Jalpaiguri

Early in this outbreak a meeting of the *zamindars* and other inhabitants of the Division forwarded to the Government of India resolutions expressing their loyalty and determination to aid the Government in the maintenance of order for which the acknowledgments of the Governor General in Council were returned

In July a few arrests were made of sepoys and others, and in the latter part of the month a plot was said to have been discovered for murdering the officers of the 3rd regiment at mess Some sepoys were in consequence arrested and sent to Calcutta for trial by court martial and about the end of August 18 Muhammadan troopers of the 11th Irregulars were disarmed and sent to Berhampore

Early in September an offer made by the manager of Messrs Watson and Co.s factories to raise a small force of European volunteer cavalry for service in case of need, was accepted with thanks. A small but very effective body consisting of indigo planters and civil officers, has since been raised and organised at Rampur Boalia, and an officer deputed to superintend their drill, &c.

Cases of individual disaffection occurred from time to time in the regiment at Jalpaiguri, as for instance in the first week of November a sepoy loaded his musket and threatened to shoot any European officer who should come near him He was secured after jumping into the river and on trial sentenced to transportation for life Some few others whom he named as implicated in a plot were dismissed. About this time Colonel Sherer commanding the regiment commenced to enlist Gurkha recruits with a view of introducing a neutralizing element

brethren, and one *risala* of the 11th Irregular cavalry, had been sent out to Madarganj to intercept the Dacca party, in case of their approaching the station On the night of the 4th December the *risala*, which was left behind, took themselves off, sending intelligence of their movements to their comrades at Madarganj, who followed on the night of the 5th, and, having formed a junction with the first party, the whole body made a hasty retreat out of the Division and entered, as has been previously narrated, the Purnea district On the 9th two *sawars* who had been captured were blown away from guns in the presence of the 73rd, who evinced no sympathy with them The Dacca companies meanwhile having crossed the Brahmaputra, not very far from Bagwa *ghat*, murdered an unfortunate *barkandaz* who attempted to oppose them, and entered the Rangpur district on the 30th November, and, finding there was little hope of a successful advance on Jalpaiguri, they entered the Bhutan frontier about the 8th December It was determined that an attack should be made on them here, and accordingly Captain Curzon moved out with a party of Europeans and Gurkhas, accompanied by the Joint Magistrate, Mr Gordon, who had made a personal reconnaissance of the enemy's camp, and marching all night reached the neighbourhood of the enemy's position before daylight on the morning of the 12th December A dense fog and a want of accurate knowledge of the ground prevented their advancing for some time after day had dawned, but, as soon as the fog lifted, having got close to the mutineers, they found them much more strongly posted than they expected Advancing as rapidly as was possible across a belt of very heavy sand, and dashing through a rapid stream some 4 feet deep, they came on another belt of sand, where they were exposed without protection to the fire of the rebels, who were drawn up on the high perpendicular bank of a second stream, awaiting their approach

A surprise had been calculated on, but this had failed, the party under Captain Curzon was very small, and, with the almost insurmountable obstacle in front, an advance would have been very rash and almost certain to end in disaster, and consequently, after the exchange of a few shots, it was determined that the attack should be abandoned, and the retirement was effected without any loss, except 2 men slightly wounded

The mutineers soon afterwards left this position, and, as has been related in the narrative of the Bhagalpur Division, they crossed the Tista on the 26th of December, and effected their escape into the Nepal *Tarai* Mr Gordon used every effort to prevent their crossing, but, misled by false information and deceived by the treachery of the Bhutia *suba* of Mainaguri, who, whilst making all sorts of professions

to that gentleman, was really lending all his aid to the sepoys, and with the difficulties to contend against which the country itself presented covered as it was with dense jungle, he was unable to oppose any serious obstacle to their progress.

The Hon'ble Captain Curzon's proceedings have no doubt been applauded by the military authorities. His prompt descent from Darjeeling and subsequent vigilance and conduct probably saved Jalpaiguri from a mutiny of the 73rd N I Mr Gordon has displayed a great deal of courage, zeal and energy as well as discretion during a very critical period, and I have every reason to express satisfaction at his conduct.

As soon as the news of the Dacca mutiny reached Calcutta, I lost no time in despatching 100 European sailors with guns to each of the stations of Rangpur and Dinajpur These proceeding *via* Bagwa *ghat* (on the Brahmaputra) reached these stations on the 15th and 20th December respectively and I now felt no further anxiety for the Division.

Even had the 73rd been disposed to rise, the force at Jalpaiguri itself was capable of putting down any disturbance there, whilst the presence of these bodies of Europeans was sufficient to prevent any risk of attack on the 2 stations at which they were posted

Anxiety was at first felt for the district of Pabna, as it was thought not improbable that the Dacca mutineers might cross to Sirajganj *en route* to the north west, and more particularly so with the prospect of plunder which that rich and important mart held out. Mr Ravenshaw the Magistrate, sent a hasty summons to all the planters and other Europeans in his district, which was most promptly responded to, and a well mounted and equipped body of horsemen soon collected at the *sadr* station, and moved at once to Sirajganj, where Mr Barry had fortified his house and with a small gunboat on the river was prepared to resist all comers He had previously been furnished by Government with a couple of 3 lb. howitzers, with other arms and a supply of ammunition. My thanks were given to all the gentlemen who took part in this expedition, and I highly approved of the energy displayed by Mr Ravenshaw who accompanied the party The Commissioner of the Division also brought to my notice the name of Bijoy Gobind Chaudhri, *zamindar* of Tatapara, who offered to place guards at his own expense between Dacca and Pabna to prevent the mutineers from [illegible] on the latter place This gentleman also received my warm acknowledgment of his loyalty

In the [illegible] the name of [illegible] *zamindar* of [illegible]

and supplies for the parties of sailors on their arrival at Bagwa *ghat*. At a time when it was feared that Rangpur would be attacked by the mutineers, Messrs Featherstonhaugh and Proby had been entrusted with the treasure, which they undertook to convey to a place of safety They received subsequently a reward of Rs 500 each

Since the mutiny of the detachment of cavalry and the escape of the Dacca mutineers from the district, every thing has remained perfectly tranquil and nothing has occurred which seems deserving of notice

NADIA DIVISION

The Nadia Division, if it has escaped the active disturbances, either foreign or internal, which have more or less unsettled the majority of the provinces of Bengal, has not been exempted from its own peculiar share of anxiety, but has been affected both directly and indirectly by the general disturbing causes,—directly by the presence in the neighbourhood of Calcutta and of Murshidabad of portions of the native army which has probably in most instances been the starting point of the panics, groundless as I have before said, and as I truly believe, but hardly perhaps unreasonable, to which the European portion of the inhabitants of Calcutta and other parts of the Division have been frequently subject,—indirectly by the constant arrival in Calcutta of large bodies of European troops, which has been the occasional source of inconvenience of the inhabitants of Calcutta generally, and to the native inhabitants in their turn a more intelligible source of panic, rendering necessary a large increase to the police force

Nor must it be forgotten that it was in this Division that the first symptoms were displayed of the coming mutiny which was so soon to destroy the hitherto trusted army of Bengal It has been from two points in the Division—Berhampore and Barrackpore—the one the military cantonment of Murshidabad, the other the head quarters of the Division which supplies the native guards for the town of Calcutta,—where these symptoms first showed themselves, that any apprehension has arisen, and in both cases was to be added the danger, such as it was, of the neighbourhood of large native cities, and, in the case of Murshidabad in particular, a large Muhammadan population, together with whatever prestige attached to the residence there of the descendant of the old rulers of Bengal I must do the Nawab the justice to say that he has throughout conducted himself with the utmost loyalty, giving all the assistance in his power, and always showing himself ready to anticipate any requisition on the part of Government

In the portion of my narrative which refers to this Division, it will be necessary for me to record but very little, the districts generally

have been perfectly tranquil, and furnish little matter to remark upon The events connected with the insubordination and punishment of the 2 regiments, the 19th and the 34th, do not come within my province even had they not already been so fully discussed as to render all further notice unnecessary and the same may be said of the disarming of the whole body of the native troops both at Barrackpore and Calcutta, and the raising of the body of European volunteer guards at the Presidency

As soon as the events at Meerut and Delhi became fully known loyal addresses were presented by the various communities of Calcutta and the neighbourhood, and all classes showed themselves well affected to Government. The disarming of the native troops took place without any difficulty on the 14th June numbers of deserters from various sepoy regiments were said to be wandering about the different districts, but a strict inquiry showed that these reports were very much exaggerated. A complete list of such deserters was published, and served to allay the apprehension that had been felt At Berhampore all was quiet up to the 23rd. of June, though some seditious placards had been posted up in the city of Murshidabad. On that day a panic occurred from an unfounded belief that the 63rd N. I. and the 11th Irregular cavalry which were stationed there had mutinied. The Nawab lent his assistance to the authorities, and the fears passed away The feeling of confidence was secured by the despatch to Berhampore of detachments of H. M.'s 84th and 35th regiments, of whom part were sent by steam to Matoli, on the right bank of the Ganges, and thence conveyed by elephants and carriages rapidly and secretly to their destination. Another part were sent up in break vans with 4 horses each and, notwithstanding the season, arrived speedily and unexpectedly at Berhampore In this too the Nawab lent his assistance by providing horses elephants, &c.

A plot was discovered amongst the men of the [illegible] guard at Jessore in which a *jemadar* and two sepoys were principally concerned. The *jemadar* was hung and the sepoys sentenced to transportation for life Both these men committed suicide by hanging themselves in their cell the night before they were to have been sent away from the station

The peace was secured throughout the whole Division and more particularly in the [illegible] *Pergunnahs*

Up to the end of July all was quiet [illegible] *jemadar* named Mohammed Ali [illegible] The Commissioner [illegible]

[illegible]

feeling was abroad in consequence of a belief that very large purchases of arms had been made by the natives, and that these arms were concealed in the city On careful inquiry by the Commissioner of Police the reports were found to have been greatly exaggerated, though considerable sales had no doubt taken place , the native gunsmiths voluntarily rendered their stock to the Commissioner of Police, and all precautions were taken against any possible danger that might arise during the approaching Muharram

Great alarm existed amongst the Muhammadan population regarding imaginary violent measures that were to be taken against them during their festival The Magistrates, as well as the influential Muhammadan gentlemen, were requested to point out to them the groundlessness of these delusions

The news of the mutiny at Dinapore reached Calcutta at the end of July, and it was of obvious moment to disarm the 63rd regiment N I and the 11th Irregular cavalry, who were assuredly not to be trusted H M's 90th regiment were at this time on their way to the Upper Provinces, and a portion was allowed to make a temporary divergence for the purpose

The disarming was carried out without difficulty The cavalry exhibited a spirit of insubordination, and were deprived of their horses as well as their arms All this was done in a manner very creditable to both the Nawab and the Governor-General's Agent Subsequently, as our disarmed soldiers were reported to be making inquiries about their arms in the city of Murshidabad, it was determined that the city too should be disarmed, and the Magistrate was able to effect this without the aid of European troops He seized a considerable number of wall and field pieces and 2,000 small arms All this was done in the first few days of August

In Calcutta, the Bakr-Id passed off quietly, and there was no cause for apprehension , but it was found necessary to place a prohibition on the sale of copper caps to natives by European firms, and thus to prevent them from being sent upcountry and disposed of to the mutineers

The Commissioner of Police was allowed, at his own suggestion, to have 2 field pieces placed in the police compound, wtih a supply of ammunition, for the purpose of training sailors This has been found a most useful measure with reference to the parties of sailors that have been sent to various stations, and the Commissioner has been constantly able to furnish men with some training in the use of artillery for these marine brigades During the month of August, and indeed at various times since that period reports were in circulation that large bodies of

upcountry natives were coming down towards Calcutta, both in boats and by land. The reports, on inquiry were always found to be grossly exaggerated. As a precautionary measure an establishment was allowed for the purpose of searching all boats, and the police at the entrance of the Bhagirathi river was strengthened. In Calcutta itself an addition of 60 men was made to the European police. The Muharram, which took place at the end of August, passed off more quietly than usual. An address was subsequently presented by the leading Muhammadans thanking Government for the means which had been taken to preserve order; but no doubt a great part of the credit is due to the population themselves, who endeavoured to prove their loyalty by their moderation on the occasion.

In parts of the Jessore district some sort of panic seemed to exist. In September 100 stand of arms were sent for distribution amongst the planters in that district. Various arrests of followers of the King of Oudh at Barasat and elsewhere took place during this month, as well as at other times both previous and subsequent, but I need do no more than allude to this.

Early in October the Commissioner of the Division was authorised to raise 100 men for police purposes at the *sadar* station of each district By the end of October and beginning of November considerable bodies of European troops had begun to arrive and a temporary increase to the European police constables became necessary

In this month at the representation of the Superintendent of the Alipore jail, a European guard was sanctioned, and the disarmed native guard, hitherto furnished by the Calcutta Militia, was altogether withdrawn.

General in Council all possible means were taken to lessen the latter evil The Commissioner of Police caused all liquor shops to be closed at 5 P M, whilst the military authorities opened a temporary place of amusement in a central position, where books and papers were provided for the men, and good and wholesome liquor was obtainable Whilst I am on this subject, I must mention that, as late as in the first week of May 1858, very serious disturbances have occurred in the town, these have heen caused by the recruits for the Hon'ble Company's cavalry who have recently arrived in India, and it has even been necessary to have a large mounted patrol on duty every night The recruits have now all left Calcutta, and order has been consequently restored

Assaults by Europeans on the native (disarmed) sentries at the gates of Government House had about that time become almost nightly occurrences, and to prevent them a European Serjeant was obliged to be constantly patrolling At the end of December some uneasiness was felt at Berhampore on account of the sepoys at the station, who were supposed to be plotting I therefore despatched a party of 100 European sailors to that station.

At the beginning of February, an intense panic was said to have seized on the artizans and native servants in Calcutta, who expected to be forcibly seized and sent to the Upper Provinces This may not improbably have arisen from the impressment bill passed about that time, which, however, it was never intended to enforce in Calcutta or its neighbourhood

It having been reported that some sepoys, who after a short imprisonment had been released from the Alipore jail, were being entertained as *lathials*, means were taken to prevent a recurrence of this

On the 2nd March occurred one of the almost inexplicable panics to which Calcutta has been from time to time exposed It was, I believe, represented to the Hon'ble the President in Council that an attempt was to be made to arm the guard which in the course of the usual monthly relief would march down from Barrackpore to Calcutta A house was indicated (that of the Nawab of Chitpur) where the arms were said to be concealed Under Mr Dorin's orders, the march of the guard was stopped, and a strict search was made in the house named, but I understand that no trace of the arms could be discovered, and that the whole story was subsequently discredited

As the anniversaries of the outbreak of 1857 approached, rumours of various kinds were set afloat, and considerabe uneasiness was felt in this and other Divisions, in consequence of the report which has been elsewhere noticed, of the "something white" which after a certain fixed time was not to be obtainable Inquiries were made as to the

origin and object of this rumour but I have no reason to apprehend any interruption to the peace in this or any of the neighbouring districts and Divisions.

I must not omit this opportunity of recording my high estimation of the singular services rendered by Mr Wauchope, Commissioner of Police for Calcutta. He and his staff have always been indefatigable in their exertions to preserve order He has given constant and most valuable assistance in the entertainment and training of men for the marine brigades His information as to suspicious characters has always been most full and accurate, and in all respects I consider him a peculiarly efficient and most valuable officer

BURDWAN DIVISION

What has been said of the Nadia Division will also, in a great measure, apply to the Burdwan Division. It has been quite free from any disturbance, though it has not altogether escaped the apprehension of danger For a long time the Shekawati Battalion was a fruitful, and considering its composition, a not unreasonable source of apprehension to the residents and inhabitants of Midnapore and Bankura, whilst the but lately tranquillised Sonthal *Pergunnahs* and the still unsettled Chota Nagpur districts, bordering as they do sides of this Division afforded also reasonable cause for anxiety and uneasiness.

The main stay of the Division Rattray's police Battalion which had been expressly raised for service in the Sonthal *Pergunnahs* was owing to the exigencies of the crisis early moved away to a distant station and, for a considerable period, the only defence against any possible rise of the Sonthals was the Shekawati Battalion, itself as I have said suspected of a disloyal spirit No outbreak has however occurred, and as respects the Shekawati Battalion it has not only remained faithful to the [illegible]

tampering with the sepoys, and endeavouring to excite them to mutiny; but neither then nor subsequently has the regiment itself, as far as I know, been proved to have displayed any symptoms of disaffection, nor does the case of the 2 sepoys who made a murderous attack on some of their comrades, and who were released at the intercession of the commanding officer, and of the regiment generally, form any exception to this statement

In the Hooghly district the landholders and others presented a petition, complaining of the inefficiency and cowardice of the police *barkandazes*, and begging that the bolder class of *lathials* might be entertained The experiment on a small scale was sanctioned at the *sadar* station of Hooghly, with an intention of extending it, should it turn out successful, and whilst I am on the subject I may add, though the circumstance belongs to a later period, that Mr Hodgson Pratt, who has been officiating for some months past as Magistrate of Hooghly, has succeeded in obtaining the services of a considerable body of native Christians, who appear likely to be good and useful men

At Birbhum the Judge distrusted the *sawars* attached to the Bengal police Battalion who, whilst the infantry were all Sikhs, were chiefly up-country Hindustanis, recruited in the neighbourhood of Delhi and Fathighar Captain Rattray, commanding the Battalion, and Mr Baker, commandant of cavalry, were both consulted on the subject of disarming these men, and both replied that means were always at hand of coercing them, and that this measure did not then seem desirable They were however subsequently disarmed without any trouble (but after they had left Suri), and again received back their arms, as has been related in a previous part of the narrative, on giving decisive proof of their loyalty

On the occurrence of the outbreak of the Ramghar Battalion, fresh uneasiness was felt on the subject of the Shekawati Battalion, both at Midnapore and Bankura, where was a detachment of the corps,—an uneasiness which was increased by the close neighbourhood of the Chota Nagpur districts, and a fear of outbreak amongst the Chuars and Sonthals inhabiting the country about Bankura The distrust, however, of the Battalion seems gradually to have passed away, and in October, when increased fear of an outbreak amongst the Sonthals seemed to be entertained, a wing of the Shekawatis was gladly welcomed at Bankura, and served to allay the anxiety that was felt But it is not necessary to record the recurrence of mere apprehensions, it is sufficient to repeat that neither then, nor at any other time since, have the apprehensions either about the sepoys or the frontier tribes been realized.

At the end of August large numbers of upcountry men were said to

have come into the Hooghly district on inquiry these were found to be chiefly men seeking service in Calcutta.

The Magistrate was, however directed to exercise all vigilance in watching any movements of the kind. Throughout the Division escaped convicts from Chota Nagpur were from time to time arrested

At the time of the Bakr Id, in August, the Munsif and law officer at Birbhum made loyal addresses to the Muhammadans at that place, for which they received the approbation of Government.

In September the Supreme Government gave notice of their intention of establishing a temporary cantonment at Raniganj

Towards the end of October confidence was so far restored that the Magistrate at Bankura proposed to dismiss an extra establishment of *barkandazes* which he had been allowed to entertain

Soon after this the Shekawati Battalion, whose services were urgently required in the Chota Nagpur Division left Midnapore, and, in the end of November the Commissioner having reported that some disturbance amongst the Sonthals was likely to arise, I determined on sending a marine brigade of 100 men to Midnapore. These men left Calcutta on the 3rd December Subsequently on their services being urgently required in Singbhum a second body of 100 men was sent to take their place

Nothing further worth recording seems to have occurred in this Division Loyal addresses were from time to time presented in particular one from the principal inhabitants of Ukhra, transmitted by the Judge of Birbhum who was directed to return my acknowledgments.

The Commissioner also brought to my notice the services rendered and the offers of assistance made by the Raja of Burdwan and desired that my approval might be conveyed to the Raja.

Bhagalpur and Rajshahi Divisions, the latter by 3 companies from the 34th N I, of which the remaining 7 companies had been disarmed at Barrackpore—whilst the districts of Sylhet and Cachar were occupied by detachments from the local corps, the Sylhet Light Infantry, whose head quarters were at Cherrapunji in the Khasia Hills

In the Chittagong Division the presence of the body of native troops was the chief, if not the only, cause for anxiety, the inhabitants were no doubt perfectly if only passively loyal

In the town of Chittagong itself the population was a very mixed one, consisting largely of Maghs, Rajbansis, and other Arracanese tribes, with a considerable sprinkling of Christians, and all classes were at least free from any sympathy with the sepoys, and the same may be said of the 2 districts of Noakhali and Tippera The jungle tracts which run along the whole eastern part of the Division are inhabited by tribes of savages, who, whilst some of them own nominal allegiance to the British Government, and others are the so-called subjects of the Tippera Raja, are in fact but little amenable to any rule, and acknowledge no authority but that of their own petty chiefs

But neither from these was any danger to be apprehended, and they are for the most part more formidable to each other and to the half-reclaimed savages who have taken refuge within our frontier from the oppression of the more powerful tribes, than to the peace of the province in general

In the Dacca Division, on the other hand, there appeared to be much more serious elements of disturbance The district of Faridpur, the headquarters of the fanatic Ferazis—Backergunge with its notoriously turbulent and insolent population—Sylhet with what was by many believed to be the dangerous presence of the Sylhet Light Infantry, but which, when the time of trial came, proved to be the saving of our European frontier from the very serious peril which threatened it—and beyond all, the city of Dacca, with its large Muhammadan population, which by the local authorities was believed to be at least not well affected to Government, though at the same time their undoubted antipathy to the sepoys was sufficient to prevent their lending *them* any aid or assistance, and I am also bound to say that neither before, nor since the breaking loose of the Dacca detachment, have they by any overt act shown a want of loyalty I could not, however, but feel considerable apprehension for the tranquillity of these districts and the more so from the extreme difficulty that presented itself in the way of sending any assistance to the authorities Unlike most other Divisions of Bengal, where in case of any outbreak a temporary divergence of troops intended for the Upper Provinces was sufficient either altogether to prevent an

outbreak, or at least to avert the more serious consequences, this part of the country was, I need hardly say, far removed from any possible resource of this kind; all despatch of aid must, therefore, be quite independent of any other movement, whilst the only means of despatch was by a circuitous water route, and that too at a time when steamers could be ill spared. The Governor General however convinced of the urgent necessity for maintaining tranquillity in our Eastern provinces despatched a body of 100 sailors from the H. C. S. *Zenobia* with two armed pinnaces and the presence of these men prevented any serious consequences that would have been otherwise certain to arise from the mutinous outbreak which afterwards occurred, and which, but for their presence would probably have happened at an earlier and more embarrassing time and I need hardly say been attended with much more serious consequences.

The districts of Sylhet and Cachar were calculated to give still graver cause for apprehension, not only on account of their greater distance from relief but also from their geographical position in our extreme Eastern frontier with no barrier between it and Burma, but the small independent territory of Manipur which powerless in itself to resist any invasion, was sure to be an indirect source of trouble and annoyance in the event of any weakening in our prestige since for years past whenever an opportunity has offered, Cachar has been the starting point for a revolutionary attack on Manipur and indeed that portion of the mutinous 34th detachment which reached Cachar was immediately joined by some one or other of the pretenders to the Rajaship of Manipur with a small following which on the slightest prospect of

have restored confidence to that station as well as to Tippera, which had also been subject to the prevailing uneasiness The detachment too of the 34th N I appeared to have given an earnest of loyalty by a voluntary offer to make use of the obnoxious Enfield cartridge, and for some months the whole Division remained perfectly tranquil

In the Dacca district meanwhile some uneasiness was caused on the score of a sect of Muhammadans somewhat similar to the Ferazis, under the alleged leadership of one Karamat Ali, who was said to be indentical with a well-known *mulla* of that name in the Jaunpur district, but the identity seems never to have been clearly established, and the excitement, whatever it was, subsided without any outbreak

In July an increase to the police of the city was sanctioned, and in August confidence was still further restored by the enrolment of the European residents as volunteers, the Supreme Government having thankfully accepted their services

Mr Allen reported from the Khasia hills that exaggerated rumours of the fall of the British power had caused some excitement amongst the hill chiefs, and shortly afterwards the ex-Raja of Jaintia (which adjoins the Khasia hills) was found to be intriguing with the Cherra chiefs, with a view to the recovery of his lost possessions The Commissioner was directed to seize him if possible and send him to Calcutta, but, on Mr Allen's representation that this would be making the Raja and the whole proceedings of more importance than they deserved, he was directed to act on his own judgment in the matter, and the Raja was ordered to reside in Sylhet under the eye of the authorities

At Sylhet itself the detachment of the Sylhet Light Infantry was increased in anticipation of the approaching Muhammadan festival, which, however, here, as elsewhere, passed over without the slightest disturbance

It was at this time, the latter end of August, that the districts of Sylhet and Cachar were placed under Mr Allen

At the end of August, in the regular course of things, a detachment should have been sent from Jalpaiguri to relieve the 2 companies at Dacca, but, as this would temporarily have doubled the strength of the sepoys there, and as it was not advisable at this time to move bodies of native troops about the country, the relief was postponed for the present, and the supreme Government approved of this Some uneasiness was shown by the sepoys on receipt of intelligence that a man of their regiment had been sentenced and shot at Jalpaiguri, but there appeared to be no disloyal feeling Fears for the approaching Muharram were entertained at Backergunge, and at a meeting of the residents it was determined to raise private funds and engage a body of 300 men, com-

posed of Maghs, Native Christians, &c., for the defence of the district and in the meantime Government was requested to undertake the expense. A reference on this was made to the Government of India, for permission to raise such a body limited to 00 men, at each *sadar* station, as part of a comprehensive scheme which should embrace all the districts of Bengal, and this was subsequently sanctioned In Backergunge at this time it appeared especially needful, in consequence of the turbulence and contempt of authority habitually evinced by the people.

The Dacca volunteers made an offer at this time to escort the treasure from the different out stations to Dacca but arrangements for this had already been made by the local authorities and the offer was declined with thanks

A body of 100 sailors intended for service in Assam arrived about the 17th of September at Dacca, where they evinced a mutinous spirit and wished to decline proceeding any further The firmness of Mr C. Carnac, the Magistrate and of Lieutenant Lewis, commanding the detachment of the Indian Navy at that station, soon reduced them to obedience men deserted, the remainder proceeded without further remonstrance. I directed the Commissioner to convey my approbation to Khwaja Abdul Ghani and Abdul Ahmad Khan, two Muhammadan gentlemen, who had given ready aid to Government.

On the 24th October Mr Carnac reported that there was an uneasy feeling amongst the sepoys; this, however seemed to arise from reports which had been industriously circulated amongst them that it was intend ed to disarm them, and, on his explanation that no intention of the kind was entertained the excitement subsided.

prisoners, whom they pressed as coolies to carry the treasure and ammunition, and, having burned down their own lines and the magazine, marched out of the station, taking with them 3 Government elephants, without attempting any injury to the lives or property of the European residents, who were completely unprepared for the event

It was at first expected that they would proceed at once to Comilla, the *sadar* station of the Tippera district, but they soon diverged from the road towards that place, and turned into the jungles and hills of Independent Tippera At Comilla all the precautions that circumstances admitted of were taken, the ladies and children were sent off to Dacca, whither also the treasure was conveyed, whilst Mr Metcalfe, the Judge, and Mr Sandford, the Assistant Magistrate, remained behind at the station with a view to reassuring the minds of the inhabitants (the other civil officers were at the time absent in the district) The Raja of Tippera was at the same time directed to use every means in his power to prevent the onward movements of the mutineers

On the evening of the 21st November, an express, conveying the intelligence of what had occurred, reached the authorities at Dacca At a meeting of the officers, civil and military, including Lieutenant Lewis, it was, after some discussion, unanimously decided that the sepoys must be disarmed

Accordingly, the seamen under Lieutenant Lewis and volunteers assembled at daylight the next morning, and, having disarmed the different guards in succession, and without any attempt at resistance, they advanced on the lines, which were situated in a strong position at a place called the Lalbagh Here they found the sepoys and a detail of native artillery, with 2 guns, drawn up, ready to receive them, as the party advanced, fire was opened upon them, and a sharp engagement, lasting for half an hour, ensued It is sufficient to say that the sepoys were driven out of their barracks, and the guns carried with great gallantry The rebels left 41 dead on the ground, whilst 3 were drowned in attempting to cross the river, and a large number were more or less severely wounded, nor was the victory unattended by loss on our side, 15 were severely and 3 slightly wounded Of the former 3 died of their wounds Dr Green, Civil Surgeon, who in the absence of other medical aid attended the attacking party, was shot through the thigh, and Lieutenant Lewis also received a slight wound

The volunteers had been left in charge of the treasury and of the disarmed men of the different guards, a few of whom effected their escape, though without their arms, through a window which had been overlooked in the building in which they were confined, 20 prisoners were subsequently taken, 10 of whom were sentenced

to be hung the remainder to transportation for life. The main body thoroughly panicstricken, made a hasty retreat from the Division, passed by the stations of Jamalpur and Mymensingh without attempting any attack, and, reaching the Brahmaputra, crossed, as has been previously related near Bagwa *ghat* and entered the district of Rangpur. The intelligence of these separate outbreaks reached Calcutta on the same day and immediate measures were taken to prevent, as far as possible, any further mischief. The Governor General at once consented to the despatch of a body of European troops, and, as soon as a steamer and flat could be prepared, three companies of H. M.'s 54th were sent off to Dacca to act as circumstances should dictate. With them went a party of European seamen, and a second party followed the next day. These were intended ultimately for the two stations of Rangpur and Dinajpur but were in the meantime to act as should seem most desirable. With the detachment of the 54th I despatched Mr. C. H. Campbell, of the Civil Service, an officer who was well acquainted with the eastern provinces. Mr. A. Abercrombie, C. S., also accompanied the sailors till they landed at Bagwa *ghat en route* for their destination.

The Chittagong mutineers having, as has been related, entered the hills and jungles of Independent Tippera, remained there for some days, taking short marches in a general north westerly direction which would eventually bring them into the Sylhet district whence they might either march direct upon the station of Sylhet, or choose a westerly or easterly course in the first case crossing a branch of the Megna into the Mymensingh district and, following in the direction taken by the companies of the 73rd make their escape into the Rajshahi Division; in the second skirting along the edge of the jungle pass into Cachar and thence attempt to reach Manipur; and this last course they eventually took. There can be little doubt that they hoped and expected to be joined by the greater part of the Sylhet Light Infantry Battalion.

By a lavish expenditure of the treasure they had with them, they managed to procure supplies as well as the assistance of some of the hill tribes, who acted as guides and pioneers. Apprehensions were still entertained at Chittagong, as it was feared that they would return and plunder the station, and similar apprehension was felt at the station of Comilla, in the neighbourhood of which they remained for some

displayed by the native population A party of 100 seamen were, as soon as possible, despatched from Calcutta for the further defence of the place. At Comilla the courageous attitude assumed by the Civilians had great effect in reassuring the minds of the natives. Many of the liberated prisoners and some small portion of the plundered treasure were captured in the Tippera district

The detachment of H M 's 54th having reached Dacca left the seamen to proceed to their destination in the Rangpur and Dinajpur districts, (and, had the mutineers eventually determined on taking the westerly route above described, these marine brigades would have crossed and intercepted their line of march,) whilst they themselves left Dacca on the 4th December in the steamer and flat, with an intention of proceeding up the Megna and the Surma to Sylhet, and thus anticipating the arrival of the mutineers at that place, for which they then appeared to be making, or, supposing them to take the western route, the detachment would still be in a position to cut them off, should they not yet have crossed, or, if otherwise, pursue them on the western bank On the 8th December they reached Lakhi, on the eastern bank of the Surma, and here, finding that a further advance was impracticable, the force landed and proceeded by land towards Sylhet

In the meantime reliable information had been received that the mutineers had at length left the jungles, and on the 13th December had entered the southern part of the Sylhet district

Mr Allen, who was now at Sylhet with the headquarters of the Sylhet Light Infantry, determined on intercepting them on the route they were now evidently taking towards Cachar and Manipur Accordingly, on the 15th, Major Byng, who was commanding the Battalion, started with the head quarters for Pratabghar, a distance of 80 miles from Sylhet, which they accomplished in 36 hours, reaching the place on the 17th Here Mr Dodd, Civil Engineer, who accompanied the force for the purpose of procuring information, found that the rebels had taken another route, and would reach Latoo, which was at a distance of 28 miles from Pratabghar, during the next night or on the following morning It was at once determined to make a night march on that place, which—notwithstanding the long forced march which had been already taken and the difficulties which the route to Latoo presented—was accomplished by the men with the utmost cheerfulness, and, as they marched into Latoo at daybreak in the morning, they were met with the intelligence that the enemy were close at hand They had barely time to form, when the mutineers came in sight, advancing in good order. A smart action took place, in which the rebels were entirely discomfited and fled into the jungles, leaving 26 dead in the field, and carrying off a

number of wounded. On our side the numerical loss was comparatively small, consisting of 5 killed and one severely wounded; but amongst the former we had to lament the loss of the Hon'ble Major Byng who was mortally wounded early in the action, whilst most gallantly leading on his men and died immediately. Lieutenant Sherer the adjutant of the Battalion, assumed the command, and brought the action to a successful termination. The behaviour of the men on this occasion was admirable. A detachment, numbering not more than 155, met and defeated a body of certainly not less than [illegible]oo. The rebel sepoys, by solicitations and taunts, tried all in their power to pervert the Hindustanis who formed half of the small force; but they were only answered by a steady fire.

A Gurkha *jamadar* named Ganga Ram Bhist, was especially named for the distinguished gallantry displayed by him in the action, and the Commissioner subsequently brought to my notice the conduct of a Gurkha named Subban Khutri, a pensioner who accompanied his former comrades into the field: he fell mortally wounded in a hand-to-hand fight. His daughter has since been pensioned.

A *havildar* who was taken prisoner was tried by drumhead court martial, and shot immediately after the action. Lieutenant Sherer and Mr Dodd both received the thanks of Government for the services they had rendered and the judicious arrangements of Mr Allen were highly commended.

The headquarters of the Battalion soon afterwards returned to Sylhet, as pursuit through the jungles would have been hopeless; but detachments were so posted as to intercept the march of the mutineers towards Manipur.

Two Manipur spies who had given valuable information to Mr Dodd, received each 100 Rs.

After the return of the headquarters of the Battalion to Sylhet the *jamadar* Ganga Ram Bhist, who has been noticed above, was sent with 16 men in pursuit of a body of 10 mutineers who were known to be concealed in the jungle near Latu. He surprised the party and killed [illegible]

the companies of H M 's 154th regiment, who were ordered to Dacca, there to await further instructions.

This detachment, though they had no opportunity of meeting the rebels, yet did good service in the district, and not only prevented the mutineers from making their escape to the westward, but forced them into the position where they were subsequently attacked and defeated Colonel Michell, with the officers and men of his detachment, have received from the Government thanks and acknowledgments for the service rendered by them I have already mentioned that they were accompanied by Mr Campbell, whose assistance on every occasion was warmly acknowledged by Colonel Michell

Captain Stevens, who, on the death of Major Byng, had assumed command of the Sylhet Battalion, had in the meantime moved into Cachar.

Notwithstanding the defeats they had suffered, there was still a considerable body of rebels who kept together, and were by degrees making their way through the jungle to the extreme eastern boundary of the district, with the persistent object of proceeding into Manipur, and these had now been joined by some Manipur princes, pretenders to the Raj, with a few followers

On the 12th January they had taken up a position near the direct road to Manipur, not far from the village of Sukiapur, which it was their intention to plunder They opened fire on a party under Lieutenant Buist, of the Sylhet Battalion, who had approached their position, he immediately advanced against them, whilst a second and third party, under Captain Stevens and Lieutenant Ross, made a simultaneous attack The rebels fought with obstinacy for about an hour and a half, when they fled, leaving 17 dead, the loss on our side was 2 killed and 2 wounded This defeat had the effect of detaching their Manipuri allies

Captain Stevens gratefully acknowledged the assistance he had received from Assistant Surgeon Shircore, who had made himself most useful in obtaining intelligence

A part of the Kuki Levy was present at this engagement, and vied with the sepoys in courage and devotion

Again, on the 22nd of January, Captain Stevens surprised a party of the rebels, numbering about 40, of whom 10 were killed on the spot, whilst the rest fled, leaving their arms, cookingpots, and even their clothes

On the 26th, a party of 20 men under *jamadar* Bagatbir Singh, of the Sylhet Light Infantry, were detached against what was believed to be a small body of mutineers, but which was found to number from 40 to 50 in a strong position on a hill Again were they defeated by this small detachment, leaving 13 dead

They were now completely disorganized and dispirited numbers had been killed by Kuki scouts who had been offered a reward for every sepoy killed by them One petty chief by name Manjihow had accounted for not less than 12 of them Others had been brought in prisoners, as well as some women and children who accompanied them The remainder were in a state of suffering which it is painful to record and were even said, in some instances, to have destroyed their children rather than see them starve. Some men were found dead in the jungle from actual starvation, and, to be brief, of the 3 companies which left Chittagong not more than 3 or 4 men are believed to have escaped death or capture

Considerable sums of money were recovered both in Sylhet and Cachar but these are included in the rough estimate which I before gave of the recovered treasure. The women and children taken prisoners have since been released, with permission to retire to their homes.

The services rendered by the officers and men of the Sylhet Light Infantry engaged in these operations have received my frequent acknowledgments. Nothing could exceed the loyalty of the men and native officers, and I have had great pleasure in forwarding to the Supreme Government the recommendations of Mr Allen for a substantial reward to this most deserving regiment. I have recorded my approbation of the proceedings of Lieutenant Stewart, who at a trying time conducted matters in Cachar to my entire satisfaction. Lieutenant Stewart brought to the notice of Government the valuable assistance rendered by the Manager of the Cachar Tea Company Mr James Davidson, who gave very valuable information during the time the mutineers were in the jungles. The scouts employed were chiefly from a village in his grant, and acted under his directions. My acknowledgments were conveyed to that gentleman through the Superintendent I need hardly say how highly I appreciate the judgment and energy displayed throughout the whole crisis by Mr Allen His presence at

a sepoy of the jail guard His term of imprisonment was nearly out, but he was in consequence of this detained, as soon as the disturbances in the plains ceased, he was released on security

At Sylhet it was reported in the end of January, that a Muhammadan landholder Haji Syad Bakht, had collected arms, on enquiring he was found to possess 6 small brass cannon, which he had been in the habit of using for firing during the Muharram It was not thought prudent to allow him to keep these, and they were accordingly taken possession of

Nothing worthy of further notice seems to have occurred in either the Chittagong or Dacca Divisions

An incursion of the Khocluk Kukis into the southern part of Sylhet was quite unconnected with the mutinies Some ill-feeling was reported to exist amongst the Manipuri inhabitants of Cachar in connection with the capture and trial of the Manipuri princes, but neither can this be said to have much real connection with the prevailing disturbances, and indeed it was itself a matter of trifling importance, rendering necessary mere local precautions

It remains to mention those who did good service to the State in these two Divisions during the progress of the disturbances

I have already alluded to the judicious measures adopted by the officiating Commissioner of Chittagong, Mr Chapman, both before and after the mutiny His conduct throughout has merited my high approbation I have also recorded here and elsewhere my approval of all that was done by Mr. Metcalfe at Tippera, whose promptitude, energy and resolution merited and received my warm acknowledgments Mr Sandford also conducted the duties that devolved on him in such a manner as to deserve my approbation

At Noakhali Mr Simson was most active and energetic, and was able, by his personal influence amongst the inhabitants, to provide means for resistance in case of any attack on his district, which, as he had a considerable sum in his treasury, was a by no means improbable contingency

I record in a note the names of those native *samindars* and others who have been favorably mentioned by the officers of the Division for assistance rendered, and to whom my cordial thanks have been offered Mr Dunne, of the Srimudi factory, was also thanked for his services Mr Chapman mentioned having given a reward of 100 Rupees to his coachman, who conveyed to Comilla the news of the outbreak.

The conduct of the Tippera Raja seemed open to some question, as he had done little towards checking the progress of the mutinous detachment, but the power of this chief is merely nominal, and I trust

that his apparent backwardness will prove to have been the result, not of disloyalty but of disability to afford Government any substantial assistance.

Mr Carnac, officiating Collector and Magistrate of Dacca, has acted with great vigour and promptitude throughout the whole course of the disturbances. On the occasion of the actual outbreak at Dacca, he took a prominent part in the attack on the sepoys, and he brought forward very favourably the conduct of his two Assistants, Messrs. Bainbridge and Macpherson Dr Green, the Civil Surgeon, who accompanied the body of sailors on this occasion, and, as has been already recorded, was severely wounded, is entitled to very honorable notice, and I must make special mention of the admirable behaviour of the Reverend Mr Winchester Chaplain of the station, who, in the service of the wounded men, fearlessly exposed himself in the midst of the fight

Mr Carnac has made a separate report of the assistance he has received during the past year from his *nazir* Jagabandhu Bose whose services have received acknowledgment and reward

I take this opportunity of repeating my appreciation of the loyalty of the two Muhammadan gentlemen Khwaja Abdul Ghani and Abdul Ahmad Khan who have been before alluded to in the course of the narrative, and who have been specially mentioned by the authorities.

It has been thought advisable as a precautionary measure to strengthen both Dacca and Sylhet. To the former place 3 companies of H M s 10th Foot were some time since despatched, and on their arrival a portion of the naval brigade, which had hitherto garrisoned Dacca, were pushed on to Sylhet under their commandant Lieutenant Lewis.

The Manipuri Levy which was raised at Cherrapunji has been moved to Jamalpur and all seems to promise a continuance of tranquillity

(since the Burmese War of 1826), and it will be acknowledged that these in themselves afford no inconsiderable cause of anxiety

But it is not only by these inherent sources of weakness that the peace of Assam has, during the past few months, been endangered The wide-spreading effects of the disturbances in the North-West have been communicated even to this distant part of our dominions, resulting in at least a partial disaffection of the local troops, and, in connection with this a conspiracy, having for its object the subversion of our rule, and I am convinced that had it not been for the judicious measures of the authorities on the spot, and the prompt despatch of assistance from the Presidency, an insurrection would have broken out, damaging not only to the tranquillity of the province itself, but also perilling the safety of the whole of our eastern frontier

It was not for some time after the occurrence of the first outbreak in the north-west that any cause for apprehension showed itself in Assam In July the acknowledgments of the Governor-General were transmitted to the 1st Assam Light Infantry at Dibrughar for the offer of service which they had made to Government How valueless these professions of loyalty have usually been the experience of the past few months has but too plainly shown, but there was then but little reason for distrusting these local corps, far removed as they might be deemed to be from any influence which had worked on the regiments of the line, and to a great extent of different composition from those regiments, and at that time little doubt of their fidelity was entertained Indeed, in July and for some time afterwards, the Governor-General's Agent, Colonel Jenkins, was more apprehensive of any danger that might arise from the probable breaking out of the 73rd N I at Jalpaiguri, and of the effect likely to be produced on the Bhutan and other frontier tribes, amongst whom it was not uncommon to find men from Oudh, and he feared that fugitives from amongst the defeated mutineers might in considerable numbers seek refuge with and take service under the turbulent Bhutan *subas*.

It was not till September that an uneasy feeling began to display itself amongst the men of the 1st Assam Light Infantry at Dibrughar From carefully conducted inquiries, Colonel Hannay, commanding the Battalion, found that the excitement was produced by letters from Arrah and Jagdishpur, addressed to men, of whom there were many in the regiments, enlisted in the Shahabad district

The company of artillery at Dibrughar was also composed of Hindustanis, of whom there were a considerable number in the 2nd Assam Battalion in Gauhati, though in a less proportion than in the first.

It was about the same time discovered by the authorities that some of these men, native officers and others, were in communication with

the Sarang Raja, Kandarpeswar Singh, residing at Jorhat in whose house, whilst proceeding on furlough, they were reported to have held meetings by night.

The men of the old disbanded Assam militia had also been tampered with.

The Raja himself was a mere boy and was completely the tool of his *dewan* Maniram Dutt, who was at this time in Calcutta.

The Raja was arrested in Assam, and, his house being searched, treasonable correspondence from Maniram Dutt was discovered, as well as other letters in a feigned hand and without signature, but no doubt emanating from the same source.

This traitor was at the same time seized in Calcutta, and, having been kept a prisoner for some weeks in the Alipore jail was sent to Assam, where he was tried in February of this year convicted and hung. Four others concerned were tried at the same time one of whom was hanged 2 were transported for life, and one for 14 years. The young Raja, who was brought down from Assam, is still in confinement in the Alipore jail.

Meantime Colonel Hannay and the other officers in Assam exerted themselves strenuously to prevent the spread of disaffection, and with great success. The Hindustanis were sent to the different small out posts, where they had no opportunity for communication with each other and combination, whilst the Gurkhas and hillmen attached to the corps, and who might be depended upon, were gradually drawn into head quarters.

Colonel Jenkins brought to prominent notice the names of Colonel Hannay Captain Reid, commanding the Artillery and also of Major Richardson and Lieutenant Chambers, of the 2nd Assam Battalion Captain Holroyd, principal Assistant Commissioner at Sibsagar did very good service connected with the discovery of the plot and the well managed arrest of the young Raja, in which he received very efficient assistance from Captain Lowther of the 1st Assam Battalion, and the party under his command. Captain Bivar principal Assistant to the Commissioner at Dibrughar was also very favourably noticed by the Commissioner.

sepoys at Dibrughar, and that the hill tribes were threatening an attack. A reference was made to Colonel Jenkins, who reported that there was no ground for supposing that the peace of the province would be disturbed, he had previously stated that the disaffection was confined to a few of the old nobles of the province who were in a state of great poverty and wretchedness, and that there was no feeling of discontent amongst the people in general

The Goalpara district, which is the most westerly part of the province, had remained altogether undisturbed, but Colonel Jenkins reported in September that he had taken means for adding to the efficiency of the police in that district by subjecting them to a periodical drill, and by increasing their numbers On the occurrence of the Dacca mutiny some fears were entertained for this part of the Division. The mutineers did actually destroy the Kuribari *thana*, which lies in the corner of this district, and having plundered the bazar carried off the *jamadar* and a *barkandaz* belonging to the *thana* They also plundered Bagwa, and killed, as has been mentioned in a previous narrative, a *barkandaz* of the Goalpara police, who attempted to stop their progress

At the end of December the Chairman of the Assam Tea Company again called the attention of Government to the defenceless state of Assam and to the danger that was likely to result from the mutinies at Dacca and Chittagong The Dacca mutineers, as has been seen, had passed hastily through a corner of the province, and neither the Government nor Colonel Jenkins apprehended any danger from the Chittagong mutineers The Chairman was informed of this, and was told that it was impossible at this time to allot European troops to Assam Colonel Hannay had also recommended that European troops should be sent to Assam, and mentioned even in December that some disaffection still existed amongst the men of the detachment at Golaghat, it was therefore determined to send a second party of 100 seamen, who left on the 31st December, and this opportunity was taken to send (as has previously been noticed) Maniram Dutt to take his trial in Assam

Since the arrival of this reinforcement, tranquillity seems to have been completely restored in Assam

Some correspondence took place in March on the supposed existence of a plot in the 1st Assam Light Infantry to murder the Europeans at Dibrughar, but on inquiry the reports on the subject appeared to be without foundation Very full details have been received of an expedition, in which a party of the seamen from Dibrughar and a detachment of the 1st Assam Light Infantry took part, directed against one of the above tribes of savages, but which failed owing to the great and unexpected difficulties of the route and the treachery of a supposed friendly

tribe. The aggression, however which led to this expedition had no connection with the prevailing disturbances, and need be no further alluded to in this place.

In conclusion I must add that I have the fullest confidence in the experience and judgment of Colonel Jenkins, the Commissioner of Assam, whose proceedings have at all times merited and received my warmest acknowledgments, and who has been ably and zealously supported by all the officers subordinate to him, particularly Colonel Hannay to whom the greatest credit is due for the prompt and well-conceived measures adopted to meet the impending dangers, and to provide with inadequate means against the threatened rebellion. I believe that there is now no reason for entertaining any apprehensions that the peace of the province will be further disturbed; but in order to provide against any risk, a further reinforcement of 100 seamen has been sent to Assam The most recent measures represent everything as perfectly quiet.

The measures which, with the sanction of the Supreme Government have been from time to time adopted for the preservation of peace and order in the different Divisions under the Government, have been mentioned in connection with the narrative. Such for instance, as the despatch of various marine brigades to different quarters, the increase and improvement of the local police, and the raising of various local bodies, which will hereafter form the foundation of the police Battalions recently sanctioned by the Supreme Government

But there are some subjects which have received little or no notice in the present narrative and which though stated elsewhere, may still here also be cursorily alluded to. Amongst these is the improvement sanctioned by the Government of India in the police of Behar and of the Grand Trunk road and the addition to the number of Deputy Magistrates—measures which have been already attended with favourable results, and without which much greater confusion would have been caused in the districts of that province

various depots along the Grand Trunk road The establishment at Raniganj I had myself an opportunity of inspecting, and I was greatly gratified at the admirable efficiency of all I saw there, and I know that the system worked equally well elsewhere For all this I am deeply indebted to the late lamented Mr J R Ward, to whom the first organisation of the establishment was due, and to his successor Mr Elphinstone Jackson, who maintained it in the same high state of efficiency Mr Ward was an officer of the highest promise, and in his early death the service has suffered a severe loss Mr Jackson has merited my warmest approbation for the manner in which his very responsible duties have been conducted, and a high meed of praise is due also to the officers who worked under him, prominent amongst whom were his uncovenanted assistant Mr Hampton and Captain Grubb, of the Bengal Army, one of the superintendents of supplies on the Grand Trunk road. But, where all have zealously done their duty, it is almost invidious to distinguish any by name

The details of this establishment have already been published, and need no recapitulation The further working of it has been lately made over to the Commissariat Department by order of the Supreme Government

In connection with the subject of carriage and supplies I take the opportunity of noticing the successful operations of Mr K Macleod, of Chapra, who was employed in the purchase of carriage of all descriptions in the districts of Bihar north of the Ganges He has deserved and received the cordial thanks of Government

It is not within my province to offer any opinion on the causes of the mutiny, nor indeed have I had the opportunities of forming a judgment on the subject which would render my opinion of any weight , but I will not refrain from expressing my conviction that the outbreak, as far as the Lower Provinces are concerned, has been simply a military mutiny, and that there has been at no time anything that can be called a rebellion in the sense in which that term may properly be used

To say that there has been no rebellion in the Divisions of Bhagalpur, Rajshahi, Burdwan, Nadia, Cuttack, Assam, Dacca and Chittagong, would be a simple truism , but the disturbances which have taken place in Chota Nagpur and in Bihar may be produced in argument on the other side

The case of Chota Nagpur is easily disposed of The risings in that Division have been by no means general, but have in every instance been confined to a small and discontented section of the savage tribes and their hardly less savage chieftains, and often as much from personal animosity amongst the chiefs and people themselves as from

any dislike to British rule. That there has been any difficulty in repressing them arose from the nature of the country and climate and the extreme scarcity of troops, not from any inherent strength or importance in the risings themselves, which in ordinary times would have been easily quelled. Unfortunately at this particular juncture the very troops which were depended upon for prompt repression of any such outbreaks had themselves broken out into open rebellion and it is a matter of wonder that an ignorant and savage population, seeing the troops in open mutiny the prisoners forcibly released from the jails, the treasuries plundered and the stations abandoned by the authorities, should not have risen *en masse* as, had there been any wide spread feeling of disaffection with the British rule they would undoubtedly have done. And in truth the events which have from first to last occurred in the province of Bihar evince no less clearly that there has been no organised conspiracy to rebel, whilst some of the attendant facts and circumstances testify most unmistakeably to the military nature of the movement.

It is hardly necessary to refer to the riot of the 3rd July in the city of Patna itself, in which Dr Lyell was unfortunately killed; the very ease with which this attempt was put down, and the entire failure to elicit any sympathy suffice to show how little of concert or conspiracy there was in the city or in the surrounding district of Patna, nor as I have noticed in the course of the narrative have the later disturbances had any effect in evoking symptoms of general disaffection in the neighbourhood. The three districts north of the Ganges may be dismissed with very brief notice All of them, Tirhut Saran and Champaran—have been more or less exposed to disturbing causes. In Champaran took place the revolt of the 12th Irregular Cavalry through Tirhut bands of mutineers have passed; and Saran, particularly at a recent period has been infested by parties of marauding sepoys. In all these districts the stations were at one time or other abandoned by the authorities, and, in short, inducements have not been wanting had there been any hostile disposition on the part of the inhabitants. But what has been the fact? There has never been anything in the shape of a popular movement the mutineers have been met and defeated by levies actually raised in these districts, and lately we are told that the mutineers have left Saran and just because they met with so little

from end to end, and, lately, bodies of sepoys established themselves for some days within a few miles of the station of Gaya itself, yet, with these, and with all the convicts loose over the country, the petty outlaw Jodhar Singh is able to collect only some few hundred followers, and is beaten out of the district by less than 300 Sikhs of the Bengal police Battalion, and it is tolerably evident that except with a few of the bad characters with whom riot and disorder are a trade and profession, the rebels have here also met with but little sympathy

In Shahabad the case is different,—but whilst in the other districts of this province the absence of any popular movement shows the absence of any popular sympathy with the rebels, the success attained by them in this district is of itself a testimony to the military nature of the revolt From this district of Shahabad the army was largely recruited, and consequently here as in Oudh the sepoys found that sympathy and assistance which they seek in vain in those parts of the country from which the military drafts were less taken. Yet even here in August last year, a body of 2,000 sepoys, with all the prestige that attached to the name of Koer Singh, and all the great influence he was able to exert, were driven out of the district by the small force under Major Vincent Eyre, and a portion of these returned only in despair, after being successively dislodged from Oudh and Azimghar. It is needless to enter into the causes which have enabled them for the present to make good their footing here, but even now their rule is one of terror, and not of affection, and though joined by a portion of the military population, and able, it is said, to raise some hundreds of recruits, they are obliged to maintain their position, and obtain their supplies, by a system of uncompromising severity and barbarity It has already been noticed in the course of the narrative, that for many months Shahabad, as well as the rest of Bihar, was perfectly tranquil, with the exception of some trifling disturbances arising out of petty local causes, in short, with the single exception of this district of Shahabad, there is no trace anywhere of a popular movement, either separately or in connection with the mutinies An abortive attempt at plot on a small scale is discovered in Assam fomented by discontented sepoys, a few Manipuris take advantage of the presence of the Chittagong mutineers to attempt one of the periodical raids against Manipur, but nowhere is there any sign of combination, nowhere any trace of organised conspiracy In short, I cannot help expressing my firm conviction, that, as far as I have had any opportunity of forming an opinion, and with reference only to what has come legitimately under my personal observation there has been no rebellion, properly so called, but simply a military mutiny

30th September 1858 F. J. HALLIDAY.

Although it does not fall within his Lieutenant Governorship I think the following account of a *Suttee* as narrated by Sir F Halliday 70 years later will be considered interesting and it has never been printed elsewhere —

A *Suttee* anecdote.

" *Suttee* was prohibited by law in 1829 At and before that time I was acting as Magistrate of the district of Hooghly Before the new law came into operation notice was one day brought to me that a *Suttee* was about to occur a few miles from my residence Such things were frequent in Hooghly as the banks of that side of the river were considered particularly propitious for such sacrifices. When the message reached me Dr Wise of the Medical Service and a clergyman (whose name I forget) who was Chaplain to the Governor General were visiting me and expressed a wish to witness the ceremony Accordingly we drove to the appointed place where a large crowd of natives was assembled on the river bank and the funeral pile already prepared the intended victim seated on the ground in front of it. Chairs were brought for us and we sat down near the woman My 2 companions who did not speak the language then began to press the widow with all the reasons they could urge to dissuade her from her purpose all of which at their request I made the woman understand in her own language To this she listened with grave and respectful attention but without being at all moved by it the priests and many of the spectators also listening to what was said

At length she showed some impatience and asked to be allowed to proceed to the pile Seeing that nothing further could be done I gave her the permission but before she had moved the clergyman begged me to put to her one more question — Did she know what pain she was about to suffer? She seated on the ground close to my feet looked up at me with a scornful expression in her intelligent face and said for answer " Bring a lamp the lamp was brought of the small saucer [illegible] peasants and also some ghi or [illegible] cotton wick There [illegible] arranged in th[illegible] my [illegible] Light [illegible] which was d[illegible] on the ground before her Then [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

and finally twisted up in a way which I can only compare to what I have seen happen to a quill pen in the flame of a candle. This lasted for some time, during which she never moved her hand, uttered a sound or altered the expression of her countenance. She then said "Are you satisfied?" to which I answered hastily, "Quite satisfied," upon which with great deliberation she removed her finger from the flame, saying "Now may I go?" To this I assented and she moved down the slope to the pile This was placed on the edge of the stream It was about 4½ feet high, about the same length, and perhaps 3 feet broad, composed of alternate layers of small billets of wood and light dry brushwood between 4 upright stakes Round this she was marched in a noisy procession 2 or 3 times and then ascended it, laying herself down on her side with her face in her hands like one composing herself to sleep, after which she was covered up with light brushwood for several inches, but not so as to prevent her rising had she been so minded The attendants then began to fasten her down with long bamboos This I immediately prohibited and they desisted unwillingly but without any show of anger Her son, a man of about 30, was now called upon to light the pile

It was one of those frequent cases in which the husband's death had occurred too far off for the body to be brought to the pile, and instead of it a part of his clothing had been laid thereon by the widow's side A great deal of powdered resin and, I think, some *ghi* had been thrown upon the wood which first gave a dense smoke and then burst into flame Until the flames drove me back I stood near enough to touch the pile, but I heard no sound and saw no motion, except one gentle upheaving of the brushwood over the body, after which all was still The son who had lighted the pile remained near it until it was in full combustion, and then rushing up the bank threw himself on the ground in a paroxysm of grief So ended the last *Suttee* that was lawfully celebrated in the district of Hooghly and perhaps in Bengal

The prohibition of this horrible custom which had been a subject of grave apprehension to which the Government, until the time of Lord William Bentinck, had always feared to apply itself was effected without the smallest opposition or difficulty At first applications for leave to perform it were not unfrequent but being in every case

sternly forbidden were at once abandoned the Brahmins merely remarking that if the widow was not permitted to burn she would infallibly be struck dead This never occurred in my district or any where else so far as I know"



CHAPTER II

SIR JOHN PETER GRANT K C. B. G C M. G.

1859—62

Previous career

IN the preceding Chapter, Sir Frederick Halliday's successor, Sir John Peter Grant, has been constantly mentioned He was the second son (born 1807) of Sir John Peter Grant, Kt, (1774-1848), of Rothiemurchus, Inverness, M P for Great Grimsby and Tavistock, a Puisne Judge of the Bombay Supreme Court, and subsequently a Puisne Judge of the Calcutta Supreme Court from October 1833 to February 1848 (the latter had succeeded to the entailed estate of the Doune of Rothiemurchus on the death of his uncle, Patrick Grant, in 1790 he died at sea on his passage home, 17th May 1848, and was buried in the Dean Cemetery, Edinburgh) He was educated at Eton and Edinburgh University, and appointed to the Bengal Civil Service from Haileybury, in 1826 He arrived in India on July 31, 1828, and had therefore done nearly 31 years' service before his appointment to the Lieutenant Governorship of Bengal He served in the revenue and judicial departments in the N W Provinces, at Bareilly, 1829, Shahjahanpore and Phillibhit, 1832, and in Bengal, as Deputy Collector of Saran 1833, as Secretary, to the *Sadar* Board of Revenue, Calcutta, and as Assistant Secretary and Deputy Secretary to Government, 1834, Deputy Accountant and Civil Auditor, Agra, Deputy Secretary to the Governments of India and Bengal, Judicial and Revenue departments, and Superintendent of the Botanic Garden 1835, Junior Member and Secretary, Prison Discipline Committee, 1836, Secretary to the Indian Law Commission, 1837, Deputy Secretary and Secretary to the Government of India, legislative, judicial and revenue departments, 1838, Private Secretary to the Governor-General, January 1839, and Deputy Secretary, General and Financial departments, 1839, Deputy-Accountant-General, *ex-officio* Director of the Bank of Bengal, and Junior Secretary,

Financial branch 1840 on furlough from March 1841 to 1844 Commissioner for payment of the Maharaja of Mysore's debts 1844 47 Commissioner for inquiry into proceedings regarding Meria sacrifices in Ganjam 1847 Secretary to the Indian Law Commission 1848 Secretary to Government of Bengal 1849 Secretary to Government of India, Home and Foreign departments 1852 54 Member of the Governor General's Council 1854—59 but temporarily Lieutenant Governor of the Central Provinces during the mutiny 1857 58

Reputation.

Sir J P Grant, it will be seen from the above summary, had a distinguished career It is recorded of him that his varied abilities tact and judgment combined with his unbiassed opinions on all grave questions and his kind feeling for the people marked him as a man suited to the time His versatile qualities and his knowledge of details of administration in every department, it is said peculiarly fitted him to deal in a masterly way with all difficult problems. When he was convinced of the soundness of any scheme or measure he would not rest satisfied until he gained over the opposition Lord Macaulay regarded* him as one of the "flowers of Calcutta Society one of the little circle of people whose friendship I value and in whose conversation I take pleasure" Both Lords Dalhousie and Canning paid great regard to his counsels

Mr Seton Karr writes (1899) The Governor General at that time in the very fulness and maturity of his powers and experience found a colleague who, if he differed on some important questions from a statesman somewhat apt to carry all before him by forcible writing and by personal influence did not at other times content himself with a brief Minute of concurrence but supported his chief by State papers, in which cogent arguments were set forth in a style of peculiar dignity and clearness Mr Disraeli spoke of Grant's Minute on the Annexation of Oudh as one of the ablest papers in the whole Blue Book And Lord Dalhousie acknowledged that opposition on some points was almost welcomed by the powerful support brought to bear on the discussion of others on which the Governor General had set his heart, and in which his colleague concurred"

* [illegible] Chapter VI [illegible]

There is a story on record that, when Belvedere was being furnished for the first time, Sir J P Grant induced the Governor-General, Lord Dalhousie, against his will, to disallow some of the expenditure incurred by the first Lieutenant-Governor as not covered by the despatch of the Court of Directors on the subject It is also on record* how, after Lord Canning, in the Mutinies, had not accepted the first offer of the European Community of Calcutta to enrol themselves into a Volunteer Corps for the protection of the city, Sir J. P Grant on the 10th June 1857 pressed the Governor-General to recall his refusal —"Your Lordship will see that the general question of having a Volunteer Rifle Corps here, when the Europeans come forward, has been settled both by the recommendation of Lord Dalhousie's Government and the Court's decision thereon. Now not only have these inhabitants come forward, but they are grumbling at their offer having been virtually declined Certainly an emergency has occurred infinitely greater than was contemplated at the time by any member of Lord Dalhousie's Government" The enrolment of Volunteers was promptly sanctioned by Lord Canning Writing in 1854 Mr Seton-Karr stated that the whole weight of the Government of Bengal had rested on the shoulders of Sir J. P Grant "It is not easy to estimate the invidious responsibility of such a position as was held by him, while Lord Dalhousie was absent from Calcutta During his incumbency, several long, intricate, and perplexing cases, involving the personal character of officers high in the service, and ending in their removal, were taken up and most carefully investigated, and in *every single instance, without one exception*, the orders of the Bengal Government met with the entire support of the Home authorities It is rather a wonder that, without a separate and unencumbered Lieutenant-Governor, so much has been done in Bengal, than that more should not have been attempted. The manner of doing the work may, in part, be appreciated by a perusal of such papers as official form and secrecy have permitted to see the light. It has often been a subject of regret to us that there is no way of making important papers known, except through the somewhat laborious process of publishing them in a "Selection" But to such as emanated from the Bengal office during Mr Grant's incumbency, and under his signature, we shall not hesitate to apply

* Kaye's Sepoy War, Book VII, Chapter IV.

the description given by the most judicious and grave of English historians of the style of one of the most eloquent and sound of our divines, that there was "no vulgarity in that racy idiom and no pedantry in that learned phrase and we have reason to know that Mr Grant's official career is acknowledged by competent judges to have exhibited better things than mere style, however weighty and precise such as inflexible impartiality high sense of honour undaunted love of justice and unwearied search for truth" He referred also to the legal acuteness and the luminous precision which mark all the writings of Mr John Peter Grant"

Sir John Kaye has given a sketch of Sir J P Grant, as a Member of Lord Canning's Executive Council at the time of the Mutinies which shows his fitness for the office of Lieutenant Governor

"He was many years younger than his brother civilian, Mr Dorin, but he had done infinitely more work. In him with an indolent sleepy manner was strangely combined extraordinary activity of mind. He was one of the ablest public servants in the country With some hereditary claim to distinction, he had been marked out from the very commencement of his career no less by a favourable concurrence of external circumstances than by his own inherent qualifications, for the highest official success. No young civilian in his novitiate ever carried upon him so clearly and unmistakeably the stamp of the embryo Councillor as John Grant. In some respects this was a misfortune to him. His course was too easy He had found his way; he had not been compelled to make it. He had not been jostled by the crowd he had seen little or none of the rough work of Indian administration or Indian diplomacy It had been his lot as it had been his choice to spend the greater part of his official life in close connection with the head-quarters of the Government; and therefore his opportunities of independent action had been few; his personal acquaintance with the country and the people was not extensive; and his work had been chiefly upon paper But as a member of a powerful bureaucracy his value was conspicuous. Quick in the mastery of facts, clear and precise in their analytical arrangement, and gifted with more than common power of expression, he was admirably fitted to discharge the duties of the Secretariat. He was a dead hand at a report, and if Government were perp[illegible]ed by any difficult question, [illegible] mass of d[illegible] [illegible] a great [illegible] [illegible] the truth, he was the man of all [illegible] to elucidate the [illegible] Compa[illegible]ly young [illegible] he entered the Supreme Council [illegible] the

close of Lord Dalhousie's administration But he had sat long enough at the Board to establish his independence He expressed his opinions freely and fearlessly , and his Minutes, when Minute-writing was in vogue, were commonly the best State papers recorded by the Government of the day Closely reasoned, forcibly expressed, with here and there touches of quiet humour or subdued sarcasm, they cut through any sophistries put forth by his colleagues, with sharp incisive logic, and clearly stated the point at issue without disguises and evasions On the whole, he was a man of large and liberal views, the natural manifestations of which were, perhaps, somewhat straightened by an acquired official reserve , and no one questioned the honesty of his intentions or the integrity of his life

Another writer has stated that he was of retiring and inaccessible habits

Sir J P Grant had succeeded Sir F Halliday as Member of Council, when the latter became Lieutenant-Governor in 1854 In August 1857, when Mr J R Colvin, the Lieutenant-Governor of the North-Western Provinces, was shut up in Agra, the administration of the country about Allahabad, Benares and Cawnpore, fell into abeyance, and it became necessary for closer supervision and more vigorous control to be exercised Lord Canning determined therefore to depute Sir J P Grant there, in the character of Lieutenant-Governor of the "Central" Provinces, to exercise precisely the powers which Mr Colvin would have exercised, if free to do so The Viceroy wrote of him—"There is no man in whose capacity for the task of re-establishing order I have so much confidence as Mr Grant, and certainly none who will act more in harmony with the military authorities" Sir J P Grant left Calcutta by steamer on the 7th August and assumed the government of the "Central" Provinces at Benares about the end of August His deputation lasted till early in 1858, when he resumed his seat in the Council of India on the Governor-General assuming charge of the executive government of the N W Provinces from the 9th February 1858. In connection with this period of his service there is a reference to Sir J P Grant in letter IX of the "Letters from a competition *wallah*," (avowedly written by the present Sir G O Trevelyan, *Bart*,) dated Calcutta, May 11th 1863, which may be quoted here —

"After Lord Canning, Sir John Peter Grant had the gratification of being the personage most profusely and fiercely maligned by the enemies of the native , which honourable position he long retained, until of late Sir Charles Wood put in his claim, a claim which has been instantly and

fully recognised A certain journal made the brilliant suggestion that Sir John Peter, had he dared, would very likely have released the sepoys whom General Neill had ordered for execution, and then proceeded to abuse him as if he had actually so done. This hypothetical case soon grew into a fact. It was stated positively in all quarters that Sir John Peter Grant had set free the murderers of Cawnpore, with a bombastic proclamation, containing the words, "in virtue of my high authority an expression which at once discredited the story in the estimation of all who knew the man. Sir John and his high authority were reviled and ridiculed in the daily and weekly papers of England and India, in conversation, on the stage, and on the hustings. Meanwhile with native laziness and good humour he said nothing and allowed the tempest to whistle about his ears without moving a muscle. At length the Home Government wrote out to the Governor General, directing him to take cognisance of the affair and he accordingly requested the accused party to explain how the matter stood Then Sir John spoke out, and affirmed that the report was a pure fabrication ; that he never enlarged a single sepoy and that had he desired to thwart General Neill, such interference would have been entirely out of his power Hereupon, the press in general proceeded to make amends in a full and satisfactory manner One newspaper however had no intention of letting him off so easily and put forward an apology which was exquisitely characteristic, and probably diverted the object quite as much as it was designed to vex him The gist of it was that Sir John had undoubtedly been falsely charged in this particular instance but that he was such a confirmed and abandoned friend of the native as quite to deserve everything he had got, and that no contumely whether rightly or wrongly bestowed on him, could by any possibility come amiss.

In his Minute of the 2nd July 1859 on the services of officers in the Mutinies, Lord Canning alluded to this special duty in kind some terms thus In the Central Provinces the Government for some months availed itself most beneficially of the ability and energy of the Hon'ble J P Grant, then a Member of the Supreme Council and now Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal who [illegible] contributed greatly to re all [illegible] to order " Sir John [illegible] services of Sir J P Grant [illegible] time been much [illegible] demanding from him [illegible] But although [illegible] had seemed to [illegible] taken for the performance of ordinary

duties as Secretary or Councillor, there was a fund of latent energy in him and he was eager for more active employment than could be found for him in Calcutta" Colonel Malleson describes him as "the ablest member of the Council of Governor-General Mr Grant was, indeed, a man of very remarkable ability He had a clear and sound understanding, a quick and subtle brain, great independence, and great decision of character If he had a fault it may have been that he did not always make sufficient allowance for men whose intellect was less vast and whose views were less sound than his own He failed thus to rate at their full influence on the multitude opinions firmly advocated by others, but which he knew to be untenable His prescience came thus to be mistaken for dogmatic assertion, his keen insight for conceit But this slight defect, arising from want of European training, was overborne by the powerful intellect, the high and lofty ideas, of one of the greatest members of the Indian Civil Service" Sir R Temple, writing in 1882, referred to Sir J P Grant as a "man of commanding talent, and one of the ablest men that the Bengal Civil Service has ever produced," and Sir H S Cunningham in his *Earl Canning* (Rulers of India Series) alluded to him as "a civilian of exceptional ability"

Anticipation

The *Hindu Patriot* of May 12th 1859 anticipated public approval for Sir J P Grant It wrote of him.

"His mind is imbued with the large English spirit, while his knowledge of the real circumstances of the people he has to govern is sufficiently extensive. He too has given ample evidences of a vigorous understanding, strong will, independence of character and thorough appreciation of the duties of an Indian Statesman If he is somewhat reserved in his disposition, his stern uprightness and brilliant intellectual qualities go far to instal public confidence in his favor His opinions on the salient points of administration are also well-known to the public which will watch his career He is not a senseless decrier of the Permanent Settlement, he has refined ideas on the subject of legal reform, he is well conversant with the condition of the judicial institutions of the country, and thinks approvingly of the political aptitude and aspirations of the people whose fate he will have to direct He is known to be prepared to carry out an imperial system of education, and against an undue and unequal distribution of patronage his unswerving

firmness and decision of character and honesty of purpose offer a strong guarantee.

Sir J R Grant then as Member of the Viceroy's Council was, like Sir F Halliday before him eminently eligible for the vacancy in the Lieutenant Governorship to which he was nominated and succeeded on the 1st of May 1859 His Private Secretaries were successively Major A. C. Plowden of the 50th N I and Capt. J R. Pughe of the 47th N I

Brief sketch of Lieutenant Governorship.

The indigo question, as will appear later occupied the principal place in the Sir J P Grant's labours. A brief sketch of other important matters of his administration has been given in Mr Seton Karr's "Grant of Rothiemurchus" —

"Much was done to facilitate intercourse and to expend judiciously the imperial and local resources in the construction of roads. Railways met with his earnest support, and civil engineers were delighted at the capacity for mastering the details of their business which the Lieutenant Governor evinced The improvement in jails and jail discipline went on with steadiness. Fresh rules were laid down for the examination of pleaders in the Civil courts and means taken to prescribe standard works for all candidates, and to have such works translated into the vernaculars. A great but important change in the Civil Courts of first instance was effected, by which, without increase of expenditure superfluous officials were removed, and better salaries were given to the real doers of the work, who were receiving a remuneration wholly inadequate to their maintenance whilst exposed to manifold temptations The whole machinery for the imposition and collection of the income tax was organised, and the tax itself was collected with as little general discontent as was possible in the nature of things. Act X of 1859, the Charter of the agriculturists, was improved, and a law for the extension of the zamindari postal service was brought well nigh to completion. Local resources, especially those raised for the conservancy and police of large towns, were husbanded and the Lieutenant Governor went in several of these [illegible] of business, and have the merit of making [illegible] with each other to their mutual benefit. A [illegible] the scheme for [illegible] of an [illegible] the Government of India.

The second great despatch on Education (No. 4 of the 7th April 1859) from the Secretary of State reached India soon after Sir J P Grant had assumed office

Education

It examined the results of the orders of 1854 and, to quote again the words of the Education Commission of 1882, it "reviews the progress made under the earlier despatch which it reiterates and confirms, with a single exception as to the course to be adopted for promoting elementary education While it records with satisfaction that the system of grants-in-aid has been freely accepted by private schools, both English and Anglo-Vernacular, it notes that the native *community have failed to co-operate with Government in promoting* elementary vernacular education The efforts of educational officers to obtain the necessary local support for the establishment of vernacular schools under the grant-in-aid system are, it points out, likely to create a prejudice against education, to render the Government unpopular and even to compromise its dignity The soliciting of contributions from the people is declared inexpedient, and strong doubts are expressed as to the suitability of the grant-in-aid system as hitherto in force for the supply of vernacular instruction to the masses of the population. Such vernacular instruction should, it is suggested, be provided by the direct instrumentality of the officers of Government on the basis of some one of the plans already in operation for the improvement of indigenous schools, or by any modification of those plans which may suit the circumstances of different Provinces The expediency of imposing a special rate on the land for the provision of elementary education is also commended to the careful consideration of the Government" The Secretary of State also drew attention to the question referred to in Sir F Halliday's Minute of 1858, viz, whether there was any connection between the recent disturbances in India and the measures in progress for the prosecution of education, with special reference to the feeling of jealousy prevailing in Bihar previously to the outbreak in 1857. The Annual Reports on Education contain ample statistics, and show that the lines laid down by the Secretary of State were followed, but progress was impeded by the state of the finances Sir J P Grant made a beginning with Primary Education, as will appear later.

Sir J P Grant had been Lieutenant-Governor only two months when the following Proclamation was issued by Lord Canning :—

Day of Thanksgiving after the Mutiny

"The Restoration of Peace and Tranquillity to the Queen's Dominions in India makes it the grateful Duty of the Viceroy and Governor-General in Council to direct that a Day be appointed for a Solemn Thanksgiving to Almighty God for His signal Mercies and Protection

"War is at an end; Rebellion is put down; the Noise of Arms is no longer heard where the enemies of the State have persisted in their last Struggle; the Presence of large Forces in the Field has ceased to be necessary Order is re-established; and peaceful Pursuits have everywhere been resumed

"The Viceroy and Governor General in Council desires that Thursday the 28th of July be observed as a Day of General Thanksgiving for these great Blessings, and as a Holiday throughout British India, by all Faithful Subjects of the Queen

"Especially His Excellency in-Council invites all Her Majesty's Christian Subjects to join in a humble Offering of Gratitude and Praise to Almighty God for the many Mercies vouchsafed to them"

Dacoity

The Bengal Administration Report for 1859 60 is the first of the series that contains any attempt at a literary style The previous reports were with hardly any exception mere compilations of facts and statistics this one was evidently composed with some attention to the manner as well as the matter and with the intention of inviting rather than repelling perusal. For instance it was found possible to make the subject of *dacoity* interesting in the following paragraphs —

"Gang robbery or *dacoity* is one of the most prevalent of Indian crimes. But it is not of an uniform nature; it wears a different complexion in different districts. In the frontier provinces of Arracan Chittagong and Tippera, *the crimes which are reported as dacoities* are generally mere border raids committed by savage and uncivilized tribes, sheltered by inaccessible mountains and dense forests from our observation and revenge. At times they are impelled from their mountain fastnesses by the pangs of hunger and the hope of plunder in the peaceful villages of the plains. At times they are urged on by a morbid thirst for human blood, with the sole object of obtaining heads to place round the grave of some departed chieftain

"But the *dacoits* in Bengal have [illegible] in common with these savage mountaineers. They differ [illegible] from the common thief. Armed [illegible] with clubs [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] way [illegible] [illegible] they are [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

the very existence of gang-robbery in any shape, however modified, must, if not checked, reflect discredit upon the Government But in this country crime is difficult to reach, more difficult still to eradicate We have to deal with a people who are too apathetic to exert themselves individually for the suppression of crime, and with landowners, who too often are more interested in sheltering the criminal than in giving him up to justice But in spite of all these disadvantages much has been done The Commission for the suppression of *dacoity* has during the last year greatly extended its operations and it has now its ramifications in nearly every district of Bengal Great, too, has been the success of its exertions In many districts the crime may be said to be almost extinct The following statistics will show at a glance how vigorous have been the exertions of Government to check this indigenous and once prevalent crime —

Year	No of cases	Year	No of cases
1852	520	1858	190
1856	292	1859	171

"These statements do not, however, include the whole of Bengal, but only those districts which are immediately under the Commissioner for the suppression of *dacoity*"

The success of the *dacoity* Commission in Bengal determined J P Grant to establish a similar Commission for Bihar, and to commence operations in the next cold season

"There is one class of *dacoits* against whom our operations have not at present been equally successful River *dacoits*, as a body, have been far more fortunate in evading justice than their brethren on land The reason of this is obvious The large rivers, which in Bengal are the highways of traffic and in many places the only channels of communication between one part of the country and another, afford great facilities for the commission of *dacoity* and oppose great obstacles to the discovery of the perpetrators For when a boat is attacked and plundered in a solitary place, far removed from any village or other habitation, the unfortunate traveller, ignorant of the locality generally, prefers continuing his journey to instituting an inquiry, which involves certain trouble, and promises but doubtful success Where a *dacoity* is committed upon land, it is comparatively easy to track the footsteps of the *dacoits* but it is almost impossible to do this upon water

"The Sundarban channels and the rivers of the Backergunge district have been long infested with powerful gangs of river *dacoits* The impunity which these men have long enjoyed convinced the Lieutenant-Governor that some special measures were necessary for the protection of the numerous merchants and travellers who passed by the Sundarban

route to the districts of Eastern Bengal and Assam It was accordingly determined as an experimental measure to send a small steam gun-boat under the charge of the Assistant *Dacoity* Commissioner to cruise about those localities in which *dacoities* were of the most frequent occurrence From the short trial the experiment has had, there are good grounds for entertaining hopes of its ultimate success The Assistant Commissioner has collected a mass of useful information regarding the chief *dacoits* of the district the gangs with which they are connected and the beats within which their operations are confined It appears that the greater number of *dacoities* in those parts are committed by professional clubmen who divert themselves with *dacoity* when they can find no employment in their own line upon land.

"In addition to the information collected, the Assistant Commissioner succeeded in making several arrests and in one case the arrested *dacoit* turned approver and disclosed the names of his former accomplices. In cases of *dacoity* where direct evidence of the crime is seldom procurable, the evidence of an approver often discloses a chain of circumstantial evidence which leads to the conviction of a whole gang, and the Assistant Commissioner entertains hopes that, by judiciously following up the information he has obtained, both from approvers and private sources, he will, in a short time be able to break up the greater number of the gangs which now infest the Sundarban channels to the great detriment of travellers and commerce

A proposal made by the Civil Finance Commission in 1861 to abolish the *Dacoity* Commission was successfully resisted by Sir J P Grant on the ground of the utility of the Department and the cheapness of its working.

Tours.

Sir J P Grant made several tours in the year 1859-60 both by water and by land One of these extended from the 23rd January 1860 into March chiefly in the Chota Nagpur and Patna Divisions Throughout his whole march in Behar including the Shahabad district which had been so lately disturbed he was much struck with the very marked respect which the whole demeanour of the people showed to the

the plains between the valleys of the Damodar and Barakar rivers: it is 48 miles from Barakar, and 16 from Karharbali, on the East Indian Railway. Its summit is 4624 feet above the sea, and the mass of the hill overhangs the Grand Trunk road between 189 to 198 miles from Calcutta. Sir F. Halliday ascended the hill in February 1855, but was not favourably impressed with its capabilities as a sanitarium: later examination, however, showed it to possess many desirable qualities. As several Engineers spoke well of it in regard to water and in other respects (as the thermometer did not rise above 73° and showed a minimum difference of 15° as compared with the plains) Sir J. P. Grant inspected it personally in January 1860, and strongly recommended that a small sanitarium should be formed there with a barrack for about 60 invalid soldiers, and bungalows for a few officers and other Europeans. As the Jain pilgrims evinced a strong feeling against the eastern portion of the hill being made a military sanitarium, the western portion (divided from the eastern by a deep cut) which the pilgrims never visited, was chosen for the building sites. Sir J. P. Grant ordered a road to be cut in anticipation of the approval of the Government of India. The Governor General approved. Sites were accordingly cleared, a road was cut up the western side of the hill, and the foundations of a bungalow laid. Owing to a remark of the Secretary of State that Parasnath, though of limited extent, appeared in other respects to be suited for a sanitarium, that any remaining doubt on the subject would be cleared up if a few thatched tents were erected and occupied during the hot season, and that in the meanwhile no permanent buildings should be commenced, Sir J. P. Grant resolved to try the climate himself. Tents having been thatched for his accommodation, he left Calcutta on the 17th of April 1861, and remained on the top of the hill till the 20th May, when a fire, accidentally breaking out, destroyed the tents, and compelled him to return to the Presidency. About the 31st of May he returned to Parasnath, where he lived in unthatched tents, transacting business, till about the end of June, the rainy season having for some weeks previously set in, and very heavily. The results of these visits convinced Sir J. P. Grant that, so far as climate was concerned, no further knowledge of it could be gained, or was required. By the year 1863-64 accommodation for 32 men on

the hill had been completed For 4 years invalids were sent there and derived benefit from its climate But in 1867 68 the hill was abandoned by Government as a military sanitarium (although several improvements had been but recently effected) on the grounds of insufficiency of water and space of unfavourable medical returns and of the greater economy of Darjeeling The various buildings were made over to the Public Works Department and disposed of Certain members of the Svetambara sect of Jains set up a claim to the exclusive use of the hill under a document purporting to be a *firman* of the Emperor Akbar But Government acknowledged no obligation to recognise the claim and the genuineness of the document was doubtful

Tea.

An inquiry made by the Secretary of State in regard to the success which had attended the cultivation of the tea plant in Assam led to the submission of reports from the local officers and the subject came prominently under the consideration of Government. Clearances of land were found to be steadily advancing throughout the districts of the North East Frontier Agency Large beneficial results had attended every advance so made not only by the reclamation of extensive tracts of waste and jungle lands but also by the large introduction of capital into the province and its employment under European direction in the highly remunerative cultivation of tea The Assam Tea Company formed in 183[illegible] produced 10 000 lbs of tea in 1840 In 1858 the production was [illegible]0 000 lbs In 1859 there were 20 factories at work and the profits of the Assam Tea Company were 9 per cent. *per annum* At the time of the inquiry there were reported to be 7 59[illegible] acres in a more or less forward state under cultivation in Assam for tea the produce of which for the last year was 1 205 [illegible] lbs It was stated that an acre well cultivated would give something more than 6 maunds of tea and that if the land under cultivation only gave the low average of 5 maunds per acre the produce would be upwards of 3 millions of pounds The difficulty of procuring sufficient labour in the [illegible] was already [illegible]
of the [illegible]
The [illegible]
[illegible]
was [illegible]

considered, and suggestions for a system of cooly immigration under regulation were offered by Government In Cachar tea cultivation had commenced only about 4 years before the last year's crop was about 1000 maunds, and a portion of it had realized in the London market 2s $2\frac{1}{10}d$ per lb and was pronounced quite as good as, if not superior to, the teas grown in Assam On the 4th January 1856 the magistrate of Sylhet announced the discovery of the tea plant Several hundreds of acres were under cultivation in Darjeeling, where the first trial of the tea plant was made in 1841 with a few seeds grown in Kumaon from China stock In 1856 the first plantation was started at Kurseong and another at Darjeeling, and progress was being made on a considerable scale The Superintendent of Darjeeling confidently anticipated that the district teas would very soon rank with the highest class of Indian teas the labour difficulty did not present itself in Darjeeling, coolies being almost always obtainable from Nepal

Charak Puja

Allusion has previously been made to the question of the suppression of the *Charak Puja* The Calcutta Missionary Conference again petitioned the Legislative Council to prohibit hookswinging at this festival, and the petition was forwarded to the Secretary of State Her Majesty's Government were of opinion that every opportunity should be taken of discountenancing the practice, and they suggested the propriety of inserting, in all leases for Government lands, a provision hostile to the celebration of the festival, of enlisting in the same direction the sympathies of the leading members of the native community, and of quietly making known the disapprobation with which such spectacles were regarded by Government Sir J. P Grant called on the Commissioners of Divisions to furnish reports on the subject. From these it appeared that hookswinging was confined to Bengal proper and Orissa Where this practice existed as a long established custom the local authorities were directed, by using their personal influence, and by obtaining the co-operation of the *zamindars*, to induce the people voluntarily to abandon the practice On the other hand, where *Charak* swinging was not an established custom but a mere occasional exhibition, the Magistrates were authorized to prohibit its celebration as a local measure of police for the preservation of order and decency The practice was reported to be gradually dying out.

The Sonthal Parganas.

The Sonthal *Parganas* were reported in 1859-60 to have greatly improved under the able administration of the Commissioner Mr Yule c s. A fair rice crop enriched the agricultural portion of the population and the great demand for labour which the railway created afforded a remunerative occupation for those not engaged in agricultural pursuits The people seemed generally contented and happy The system of bond labour fully discovered in 1858 was broken up The bondsmen were of two descriptions, known by the names of Kameoti and Hurwahi bondsmen A Kameoti bondsman was one who in consideration of a sum of money bound himself and his heirs to serve the giver of the loan until the money was repaid with interest. The Hurwahi bondsman similarly bound himself to work for the money lender whenever his services might be required. The Kameoti bondsman generally lived with the bondholders and was in fact his domestic servant. The Hurwahi bondsman, on the contrary was a sort of out-door labourer and was only employed when his services were required The bondholders for the most part consisted of shopkeepers merchants, and *chaudhris* who found it profitable to take land and cultivate it by slave-labour Several cases of bondage came to the notice of the authorities and the bondsmen were at once released from their securities The system of bondage which had once extensively prevailed gradually disappeared under the protection afforded by a vigorous administration

In the Sonthal country there was some excitement in the Naya Dumka division caused principally by the proceedings of Mr C Barnes a farmer of an estate under the Court of Wards who had had the lands measured and had enhanced the *raiyats* rents—chiefly in one *pargana*—to an extent beyond their power to pay Mr Barnes [illegible]

considerations and a desire to avoid all misunderstandings with the Bhutia Government In 1842, it again came into our possession, subject to a yearly rental of 2,000 rupees, which was regularly paid to the Bhutan Government This annual payment was accordingly stopped in 1860, but it was considered doubtful whether this single measure of retributive justice would bring the Bhutias to their senses

All representations to the Bhutan Government regarding aggression on the frontier proved ineffectual Payment of the rents of Ambari Falakata was frequently demanded Further depredations were reported The *Subas* and *Katmas* (the Bhutia officials) were suspected of being the instigators An interview took place between the *Suba* of Mainaguri and the Deputy Magistrate of Titalya At the beginning of 1862 the Superintendent of Darjeeling and the Government officers on the frontier reported that the Bhutias were making hostile preparations for the purpose of entering our territory and occupying Ambari Falakata, and that an attack on Darjeeling was apprehended Two companies of Her Majesty's 38th Foot and a wing of the 10th native infantry were immediately despatched from Dinapore to the neighbourhood of Darjeeling, and a wing of Irregular cavalry from Oudh to Jalpaiguri The presence of these troops restored confidence on the frontier In March there took place an interview between the Darpan Raja and the Agent to the Governor-General, North-East frontier The letters purporting to be replies from the Deb Raja to the demands of Government for redress were believed to be spurious At last, Government resolved to send a mission into Bhutan, as the only means of explaining the precise nature of our demands and the measures they would be compelled to adopt if those demands were not conceded

Chittagong Hill Tribes

The hill tribes of the district of Chittagong had for a long time given serious trouble and annoyance to Government The nature of the country they inhabited rendered it extremely difficult to retaliate against them with any effect The tribes were, in their social condition, but little removed from savages and for several years the tract of hill country had been the scene of murderous raids committed by them The Shindus, a numerous and powerful race in the south-east of the Chittagong district, and the

Kumias, were the chief perpetrators of these outrages, and their incursions extended from Manipur to Arracan. The causes of these raids were various. A private quarrel with a neighbouring clan, a scarcity of women and domestic servants, and the consequent necessity of procuring a requisite number of captives to supply the wants of the tribe, the simple desire of plunder or of obtaining heads to grace the obsequies of some departed chieftain, were the principal causes which led to the commission of these raids. When an outrage of this nature had been committed it was very difficult to reach the offenders. Before troops could arrive upon the spot the marauders had retired with their booty to their labyrinth of hills, and pursuit was almost hopeless in a country everywhere intersected with precipices and watercourses and covered with densest jungle. The villages too in which these savages resided were stockaded, and the paths strewed with caltrops and other devices to render the approaches as dangerous and difficult as possible. Hitherto it had been the policy of Government to manage these wild tribes as much as possible through the influence of a powerful family called the Poangs, whose authority was considered to extend over the whole country south of the Chittagong river to the borders of Arracan. Arms and ammunition were distributed to the Poang, and a considerable remission of revenue was made to enable them to keep up the necessary stockades for the defence of the frontier. To some extent these measures were attended with success. But forays were still made upon our subjects of the plains, and the marauding tribes seldom met with the punishment they deserved. Government accordingly resolved to commence a different policy. The hill tracts to the east of the plain country of Chittagong were withdrawn from the operation of the general regulations, and a Superintendent with Magisterial powers was appointed to exercise the supervision and control over the numerous tribes who inhabited that almost unknown country. It was hoped that, by the information which frequent intercourse with the savages [illegible] would enable the Superintendent to collect, Government would eventually be able to [illegible] measures for the civilisation of [illegible] effectual check [illegible] to the inhabitants of our eastern frontier.

[illegible] the hill tracts [illegible] Chittagong [illegible]

gong hills between the Karnafuli and Fenny rivers, left their mountain fastnesses and attacked some hill villages under our protection, near the source of the Fenny

Kukis

Following the course of the stream, they attacked and destroyed the village of Ramghar and from thence, inclining to the north-west, they made a sudden descent on the plains of Tippera They killed 187 persons in the plains and above 100 were carried off as slaves The outrages committed in the hills were equally atrocious and it was believed that 300 persons in all were killed, and 200 more carried captive So great was the alarm caused by this inroad that whole villages along the frontier were deserted, and even in the town of Comilla serious apprehensions of an attack were for a time entertained But the savages had no intention to face the attack of an organized body of troops Before the military police had arrived upon the spot, the marauders had retired to their hills, and the season of the year rendered it inexpedient to pursue them The punishment of this barbarous tribe was of necessity deferred till the next cold season*

The Kukis were punished in 1860-1, as contemplated, for their raids into frontier villages in the Chittagong district in the previous year Early in January 1861, a force of 1,250 military police under Captain Raban started from Chittagong, penetrated into the Kuki country, carried the stockade of Rutton Poea, the ringleader, and retired A survey of the country visited was acquired The Kukis, however, invaded the territories of the Raja of Independent Tippera, and subsequently made a less serious incursion into our own hill country lying to the south-east of the Karnafuli river, beyond our outposts but under the protection of the Poang Raja. One party was, however, intercepted and dispersed with loss, and another was partly cut up. For the future security of the eastern frontier, in addition to the frontier posts which had already been established with marked success within our own territory, the civil police were supplied with fire-arms and endeavours were made to train the villagers to habits of self-defence The Superintendent was instructed to keep a vigilant watch upon the trade of the hills, and to exclude from the markets of the plains all tribes which displayed a spirit of opposition to his authority Such exclusion, (it was expected), would be severely felt, for these markets were the chief

outlet for the productions of the hills where the savages bartered their hill cotton and coarse cloth for rice, salt hardware, gun powder and matchlocks. The Poang Raja was compelled as required by his agreement, to keep up his own chain of frontier posts in an efficient state of defence and an officer was despatched to the *darbar* of the Raja of Independent Tippera to insist upon similar measures being adopted along the Tippera frontier

Garos.

The outrages committed in the Mymensingh district by the Garos who inhabited the range of hills between Assam and Bengal proper necessitated the despatch early in 1861 of a forces of Military police under Captain Morton and Lieutenant Chamber which successfully inflicted punishment on the offenders To reclaim these hill-savages from barbarism and bring the people into closer contact with civilization it was proposed to intersect the country with roads

Khasia rebellion.

About the same time there was a rising among the Khasias of the Jaintia hills to the north of the district of Sylhet and adjoining Cachar on the west. This country came into our possession in 1835 when the Raja Raj Indra Sing voluntarily resigned his authority over an unprofitable tract for a pension of 500 rupees a month In 1858 it was resolved to impose a house tax on the country The people resisted and were punished and the tax was paid without demur

A rebellion took place again among the hill Khasias in January 1862 and a display of military force to quell it was required Two native regiments were despatched from the Presidency to assist the local troops By the end of March Brigadier General Showers and Major Rowlatt considered the military operations at an end The causes of the outbreak were [illegible] The result was a [illegible] by Bengali merchants who were in the habit of trading in th

Jowai *daroga* with a festival at Jalong General Showers also mentioned the taking away of the shields of the Singtengs, or chiefs. Major Rowlatt thought that all these causes might have had more or less effect in inciting to rebellion a people naturally turbulent

Shortly after the outbreak of the Khasias, the Kukis committed raids on the Sylhet valley, and on Independent Tippera No connection was established between the Kuki outrages and the Khasia rising A very serious riot took place at Phulguri in Nowgong on the 18th October 1861 in which Lieutenant Singer, the Assistant Commissioner, lost his life at the hands of the mob

In Sambalpur, Major Impey, by a policy of conciliation, induced the surrender of the rebel chiefs who had been out since 1857

Native States

He offered free pardon and restitution of confiscated property to all rebels with the exception of Sarundar Sahai, Udant Sahai, and Mitter Bhan, son of Sarundar Sahai By a notification of 30th April 1862 Sambalpur and its dependencies were made over to the Central Provinces

In the beginning of 1862, a disturbance broke out in *kila* Boad,

Boad

in the Tributary *Mahals* of Cuttack It apparently originated indirectly in some dispute between the Rajas of Sonepur and Boad respecting the right of a tract of country called the Bara Bhaya Des, which was divided into 12 Des or Muthas, and was principally inhabited by Kundhs The country was formerly under the nominal sway of Boad, but it was alleged by the people that it was made over to Sonepur by the Boad Raja The Kundh rebels attacked the Boad Raja who had exasperated them They agreed to accept our terms with a view to settle their grievances, and retracted when expeditions were sent against them Subsequently the rebels proved anxious to make their peace with Government, and Narain Mullick their ostensible leader, as well as the principal *sardars*, surrendered

In 1871-72 Sir G Campbell wrote that " the Government of the

Indigo disturbances

second Lieutenant-Governor was a continued struggle with questions arising out of past lawlessness and affecting important interests which suffered by the transition from an old-fashioned state of things to a rule of law and order. He succeeded in this task, and achieved a very lasting improvement, but he was, it is believed, wearied by the struggle,

and retired before completing the usual term of office" The disputes connected with indigo cultivation in Bengal had long been a subject of anxiety to Government. In the years 1854 55 a proposal to re-enact sections II and III of Regulation V of 1830 for the purpose of enforcing the execution of contracts relating to the cultivation and delivery of the indigo plant, was much discussed but no special legislation was thought to be necessary In the year 1856 reports were called for from several Divisional Commissioners as to how the indigo sowing season of that year had passed off in respect of such disputes but nothing of importance calling for the immediate interference of Government or of the Legislature was then brought to notice It was not until the commencement of 1859 a little before Sir J P Grant's succession to the Lieutenant Governorship that the question began to press itself unavoidably upon Government In April of that year a planter in the district of Barasat complained of a general disinclination among the *raiyats* of his concern to cultivate indigo This feeling he attributed not to the unremunerative price for the crops but to the conduct of the district Magistrate which he averred was openly hostile to the interests of indigo planting On inquiry however it appeared that the conduct of the Magistrate complained against had been perfectly legal and impartial In cases of such disagreement it was manifestly the duty of the Magistrate to leave the parties to make their own bargains as their mutual interest might direct and this was what the Magistrate appeared to have done At the desire of the previous Lieutenant Governor the Magistrate used his good offices to bring the complaining planter and the *raiyats* together but no good seemed to come of the attempt About the same time a difference of opinion arose between the same Magistrate (the Hon'ble Sir A Eden) and Mr A Grote the Commissioner of the Division, on the question of the general interference of the police in cases of disputes arising from planters sowing or attempting to sow the land of the *raiyats* with indigo against their will on the plea of a contract. An application had been made to the Magistrate by certain *raiyats* for protection against a planter who they said was going forcibly to plough up their land and sow it with indigo The Magistrate had ordered the police to proceed to the [illegible] protecting them if the land appeared to be really the property of the

raiyats, not to allow any one to interfere with it Mr Grote objected to this order, on the ground, chiefly, that it imposed upon the *daroga* undue responsibility. This difference of opinion was referred for the decision of Government, as a general question respecting the employment of the police The Lieutenant-Governor gave it as his opinion that Sir A Eden's principle was a true exposition of the law as it stood, according to which the police were bound to protect persons and property from unlawful violence, and to abstain from entering into disputes respecting alleged contracts, which were only cognizable by the Civil Courts In the case in question no claim was made of the ownership or possession of the land entered upon, which were confessedly the *raiyats'*

In the month of August Sir J P Grant, while on a tour by water through a part of the Bengal districts, received petitions from numerous *raiyats* of the Nadia district, complaining that in indigo cases they did not obtain due protection and redress from the Magistrate, that *raiyats* obnoxious to the factory were frequently kidnapped, and that other acts of great violence were committed with impunity in open day These complaints met with the consideration their importance deserved It appeared after due inquiry that, on the whole, the petitioners had not always received that redress from the law, and that practical protection from the police, to which they were entitled. Some of the cases, though many months old, had not been disposed of, and one case, in which a *raiyat*, after having been wounded in an affray in which factory people were the aggressors, was carried off from factory to factory, and undoubtedly died in durance from the effect of his wounds, was most weakly and improperly treated at the commencement. The local authorities were admonished that such remissness on their part could not fail to produce in the minds of the natives a suspicion of partiality They were directed vigorously to prosecute all pending cases, and to bring them to such a termination as might satisfy the ends of justice As the year advanced, complaints on both sides began to thicken In November 1859, an influential planter in the Nadia district represented to Government that a spirit of opposition to the factory was manifesting itself in the conduct and action of his *raiyats*, and that to encourage this opposition a rumour had been sedulously circulated that the Government was

opposed to indigo planting. On the other hand numerous petitions were received from the *raiyats* complaining of cruel oppressions practised upon them by the planters and of the compulsory cultivation of a crop which they represented not only as unprofitable but as entailing upon them a harassing vexatious and distasteful interference.

On the 10th of February 1860 a representation was submitted by the Commissioner of Nadia from another planter in the Nadia district, alleging that mischief had been done in the indigo factories under his management by the issue from the Deputy Magistrate's court at Kalaroa in the district of Barasat of a *parwana* on the subject of the interference of the police in indigo disputes. This *parwana* was said to be based on the correspondence of 1859 previously mentioned. It appeared on inquiry that although the publication of a *parwana* by the Deputy Magistrate was certainly not a discreet measure there was no proof that it had done any harm anywhere whilst all the circumstances of time and place were against the supposition of its having had any influence in Nadia where no one probably ever knew of it.

To petitions from *raiyats* complaining of indigo cultivation Sir J. P. Grant's reply was that *raiyats* who had contracted to cultivate indigo must expect to be forced to fulfil their obligations but no *raiyat* was forced to contract to cultivate who did not choose to do so.

second that a special law should be enacted to make the breach of an agreement to cultivate indigo punishable summarily by a Magistrate To the first prayer, Sir J P Grant at once acceded A Notification was issued, on the 14th March 1860, having for its object the correction of any erroneous ideas as to the wishes and policy of the Government, and impressing upon the *raiyats* the necessity of fulfilling existing engagements

The second prayer involved questions of a very serious nature On the one hand there was the fact that laws and Courts already existed to redress any grievances proceeding from breach of contract or other causes on the other, there was reason for believing that a great commercial calamity was threatened by the refusal of a combination among the mass of *raiyats* to fulfil lawful contracts for the approaching season, duly entered into, and on which actual cash advances had been received The danger was a great, a sudden, and a pressing one Sir J P Grant came to the conclusion that the regular procedure was inadequate to the occasion, and that a special law of limited application as to time was called for, which should, however, be accompanied by a promise of full and thorough inquiry into the past practice, and thereafter of a well-considered law which should afford equal and complete protection to the *raiyat* and to the planter In accordance with his views, a Bill was introduced to the Legislature on the 24th, and passed as Act XI of 1860 on the 31st, of March It was "an Act to enforce the fulfiment of indigo contracts and to provide for the appointment of a Commission of inquiry"

The Act made temporary provision for enforcing, by summary process, the execution of agreements to cultivate indigo during the current season, for which an advance in cash had been received, except agreements obtained by fraud, force, or unlawful intimidation, and it provided for the punishment of certain unlawful acts connected with such cultivation, namely, intimidating or attempting to intimidate persons with the intention of inducing them to break their agreements, maliciously destroying or damaging, or commanding, compelling or persuading others to destroy or damage any growing crop of indigo

The Act also made provision for the appointment of a Commission to inquire into and report on the system and practice of indigo

planting and the relations between the indigo planters and the *raiyats* and holders of land in Bengal It provided for the filling up of vacancies among the Commissioners in case of the death or resignation of any of them and for the attendance and examination of witnesses.

In the meantime the excitement against the cultivation of indigo had become so strong as to lead to acts of violence in some of the indigo districts The first disturbances occurred in the Aurungabad sub-division where the Ancoora factory belonging to Mr Andrews, and the factory at Banlagaon belonging to Mr Lyon were attacked by a mob of *lathials* and *raiyats* In the district of Malda, the Bakrabad factory also belonging to Mr Andrews, was similarly attacked and plundered It appeared upon inquiry that the *raiyats* in this part of the country had been goaded into rising by the long continued oppressions and extortions of the factory servants. While therefore the rioters who were concerned in the disturbances were promptly punished stringent measures were ordered to be taken to bring to justice those whose oppressive acts lay at the root of all this evil In the districts of Nadia and Jessore although the excitement was as strong as anywhere else, no disturbances of a serious nature occurred In the district of Pabna a Deputy Magistrate with a small party of military police was (partly in consequence of his own injudicious conduct) repulsed by a body of armed *lathials* who had assembled to resist the cultivation of indigo On receipt of intelligence of the first of these occurrences, Government at once acted with promptness and vigour Troops were rapidly collected in the districts where the excitement prevailed and by a judicious display of force in suitable places the *raiyats* were overawed and all tendency to any violent outbreak was suppressed The best available Magistrates were placed over the Indigo districts and the staff of Magisterial officers in those districts was considerably strengthened On the passing of the new Indigo Act [illegible] Grant issued certain instructions to the local Magistrates enjoining them carefully and [illegible] to sift the evidence and [illegible] in [illegible] of [illegible] all [illegible] in [illegible] [illegible] that the [illegible] were [illegible] several doubtful [illegible] connected with the [illegible] and the law was [illegible] and [illegible] forth [illegible] dance of all [illegible] The [illegible]

suits under the Act in the Nadia district increased so largely towards the end of May as to threaten to stop all the regular work of the district. Upon an application from the Commissioner, 2 Principal *Sadr Amins* with Magisterial powers were specially deputed to Nadia for the trial of the breach of contract cases, the Magisterial officers reverting to their own proper work including the trial of cases under the penal clauses of the Act. Except in Nadia, the indigo Act was not worked to any very great extent. And notwithstanding the great excitement displayed at the commencement of the season in 3 out of the 4 excited districts the usual or nearly the usual quantity of indigo was sown. In the month of June, some apprehensions of a breach of the peace were entertained in the district of Pabna, in consequence of certain differences between the *rayats* and planters of 2 of the largest concerns; but these differences were amicably adjusted by the exertions of the district authorities. Difficulties had also been experienced by planters in the district of Jessore in obtaining delivery of the ripe indigo plant; but these were met by some judicious concessions on their part.

The Indigo Commission. W. S. Seton-Karr, Esq., C.S., President; R. Temple, Esq., C.S., Member; Rev. J. Sale, to represent the interests of the *rayat* in the Committee and the Missionaries; W. F. Fergusson, Esq., nominated by the Indigo Planters' Association to represent the interests of that body; and Babu Chandra Mohan Chatterji, nominated by the British Indian Association to represent the landholders' interest.

Meanwhile all parties being eager for the proposed Commission of Inquiry, the gentlemen named in the margin were appointed to form the Commission. Two private sittings were held on the 14th and 16th of May 1860, when the course of action to be followed was determined upon and a list of witnesses was drawn up. The public sittings commenced on the 18th of May and terminated on the 14th of August. With the exception of a fortnight, when the Commission sat at Krishnagar, the meetings were all held in Calcutta. The number of witnesses examined was 134, of whom 15 were officials and servants of Government, covenanted and uncovenanted; 21 were or had been planters, 8 Missionaries, 13 native *zamindars or talukdars*, and 77 *rayats*, tenant proprietors, or occupiers of land.

Their Report

The Report, dated 27th August 1860, was signed by Messrs Seton-Karr and Sale, Babu C. M. Chatterji and, with a reservation, by Mr (afterwards Sir Richard) Temple. Appended to the Report was a Minute by Sir R. Temple in which

Mr Fergusson concurred also a Minute by Mr Fergusson and a reply to it signed by 3 of the Commissioners

The evidence collected by the Commission bore on every point connected with indigo cultivation as practised in different parts of Bengal on the attitude of the planters to *zamindars* and *raiyats* and on the feelings of natives, high and low as regards indigo on the profitableness of the cultivation to the *raiyats* or the reverse on the cultivation of the poppy and on agricultural pursuits generally on the conduct of the police and the executive authorities on the tenures of land and the facilities for its acquisition on the working of certain laws and on the general condition advancement and social prosperity of the country The subject of indigo planting had for many years engaged the attention of the public and had occasioned much controversy in the columns of the Indian Press and of periodicals The main features of the question at issue were thus formulated It was asserted on the one hand that the cultivation of indigo was not voluntary on the part of the *raiyat* that he was compelled to plough sow and weed his land and to cut and cart the plant at times when he would prefer being engaged in other agricultural work of superior profit that the land devoted to indigo was selected by the servants of the planters was the best land very often and was sometimes forcibly ploughed up to be resown with indigo when it was already sown with other crops that the cultivation was thus rendered irksome and harassing to the *raiyat* that he invariably became indebted to the factory and was obliged to bequeath his debts to his posterity which almost deprived them of personal freedom; that he was oppressed by the servants of the factory kidnapped imprisoned and outraged that the planters used unjustifiable means to obtain estates in *patni* from the *zamindars* and that the system generally was vicious in theory injurious in practice and radically unsound

corruptness of the police the distance of the courts and the slowness of legal procedure, and that his presence in the country was beneficial to the natives and the Government, in diffusing civilization, protection and progress

The Report gave an account of the various systems of indigo cultivation existing in Bengal and Bihar and divided the subjects of inquiry into 3 heads (1) the truth or falsehood of the charges made against the system and the planters (2) the changes required to be made in the system, as between manufacturer and cultivator, such as could be made by the heads of concerns themselves (3) the changes required in the laws or administration, such as could only originate with, and be carried out by, the legislative and executive authorities

Sir J P Grant's Minute of 17th December 1860 is the best comment on the Report and the whole situation, and will be found *in extenso* at the end of this Chapter

Subsequent occurrences and action of Government

The temporary Act of 1860 for the summary enforcement of contracts for the cultivation of indigo ceased to be in operation on the 4th October On receipt of the Act in England Sir Charles Wood had written —"In regard to the first point, it is to be observed that the authority of the Magistrate is to be called into action on the complaint of the planter for the enforcement of indigo contracts, under specified penalties, in the event of a failure to perform the same The provision of the Act, by which a violation by a *rayat* of a civil contract, of the nature specified in the Act, is made the ground of criminal prosecution by the planter, appears to the Home Government to be open to serious objection" As the Act had already been brought into operation, was for a limited duration, and had been passed to provide for a sudden emergency, the Secretary of State did not disallow it, while declining to perpetuate it The moral effect of the Act and of the public assurance given to the complaining *rayats* that proved grievances should be remedied for future seasons, was such that most of the planters were able to complete to a great extent their spring sowings Some difficulty was experienced by the planters in securing the cutting and delivery of the ripe indigo plant, but this was got over by the exertions of the Magisterial authorities, and in some instances by the judicious concessions made by some of the planters In the autumn of 1860 things looked very critical "I assure you,"

wrote Lord Canning that for about a week it caused me more anxiety than I have had since the days of Delhi and from that day I felt that a shot fired in anger or fear by one foolish planter might put every factory in Lower Bengal in flames Evidence of the popular excitement in the districts is forthcoming in the following passage of Sir J P Grant's Minute of 17th September 1860 I have myself just returned from an excursion to Sirajganj on the Jamuna river where I went by water for objects connected with the line of the Dacca Railway and wholly unconnected with indigo matters. I had intended to go up the Mathabhanga and down the Ganges but finding on arriving at the Kumar that the shorter passage was open, I proceeded along the Kumar and Kaliganga which rivers run in Nadia and Jessore and through that part of the Pabna district which lies south of the Ganges.

Numerous crowds of *raiyats* appeared at various places whose whole prayer was for an order of Government that they should not cultivate indigo On my return a few days afterwards along the same 2 rivers from dawn to dusk as I steamed along these 2 rivers for some 60 or 70 miles both banks were literally lined with crowds of villagers claiming justice in this matter Even the women of the villages on the banks were collected in groups by themselves the males who stood at and between the river side villages in little crowds must have collected from all the villages at a great distance on either side I do not know that it ever fell to the lot of any Indian officer to steam for 14 hours through a continued double street of suppliants for justice all were most respectful and orderly but also were plainly in earnest. It would be folly to suppose that such a display on the part of tens of thousands of people men women and children has no deep meaning The organization and capacity for combined and simultaneous action in the cause which this remarkable demonstration over so large an extent of country

past arrangements would not be made worse than it was, and that, in respect of all future arrangements, their right to free action in regard to indigo, as in regard to all other crops, would be respected in practice to warn all parties against having recourse to violent or unlawful proceedings, and to announce the intention of Government not to re-enact the temporary law of 1860 The only remedy the Committee recommended, which it was in the power of Government to apply, was a good and effective execution of the law as it stood Accordingly new Subdivisions were created, measures were adopted for the introduction of an improved system of police throughout the Lower Provinces, Courts of Small Causes under Act XLII of 1860 were established at the most important places in the indigo districts, the efficiency of the existing Civil Courts was much improved by the new Code of Procedure, and, at the suggestion of Government, a system of classification of suits, and setting apart particular days of the week for the trial of cases of the description of Small Cause Court cases, was introduced Twice in 1860 Sir J P Grant had to submit lengthy answers to charges contained in 2 memorials of the Bengal Indigo Planters' Association against the course of action taken by him, which the Association declared would be ruinous to their interests The conduct of the Bengal Government was approved by the Government of India Sir J P Grant's refutation of the charges was regarded as complete and the Governor-General's full and cordial support was promised him in acting on principles on which he had hitherto acted Reports that the *raiyats* would prevent the October sowings led Government to strengthen the military police in the indigo districts, to send 2 gun-boats to the rivers of Nadia and Jessore, and Native Infantry to these 2 stations The indigo excitement, which had been hitherto confined to the Nadia and Rajshahi Divisions, towards the end of October manifested itself in a part of the district of Faridpur, chiefly inhabited by the Ferazis, the sect of Muhammadans who had on previous occasions shown unity of action and some disposition to turbulence Timely precautions were taken by the Magistrate for the preservation of the peace, and beyond a few cases of petty assaults on factory workmen and servants, which were brought to the notice of Government, the excitement in this district was confined to a passive refusal in some quarters to cultivate indigo.

The Government of India on the 27th February 1861 acknowledged that Sir J P Grant's Minute had dealt with the subject fully and clearly that the statement of the case the review of the evidence and the conclusions were eminently just and fair The Governor General agreed that the cause of the evils in the system of indigo cultivation in Lower Bengal was to be found in the fact that the manufacturer required the *rayat* to furnish the plant for a payment not nearly equal to the cost of its production and that it was to the system which was of very long standing more than to the planters themselves that blame attached The ability of the Minute was recognised by the Secretary of State and by the Governor General in private letters

In the spring of 1861 the planters complained of the difficulty of realising their rents of being forcibly dispossessed of their *nizabad* lands and of danger to their own lives and those of their servants The difficulty as to rents was apparent and extra officials were appointed where required On the 4th March 1861 a deputation of the Indigo Planters Association represented these evils at Government House to the Governor-General and Messrs. C I Montresor and C G Morris of the Civil Service were appointed Special Commissioners to settle the rent difficulty the former for the Nadia district, the latter for Jessore Pabna and Faridpur Meanwhile the planters were assisted by a protective force and extra Courts and periods of grace were allowed to 1 or 2 of those who were *zamindars* for the payment of the land revenue There were a few cases of serious outrage and even affrays attended with loss of life At the village of Salbuhati in the Jhenidah sub division of Jessore 6 of the villagers were killed and wounded But all cases were promptly dealt with by the authorities The principal difficulties complained of by the planters during the indigo crisis may be summed up as follows:—*First* wilful repudiation of rents by the *rayats* and their inability to measure their lands owing to the refusal of the *rayats* to attend the measurement and point out their respective holdings *Second* forcible dispossession of their *nizabad* lands by the *rayats* and the insufficiency of the summary procedure under Act X of 1859 to secure them the possession of such lands in time for the [illegible] *Third* wilful [illegible] and [illegible] cattle [illegible] comm[illegible]

of people, in which it was difficult to obtain individual conviction

Suitable recommendations were made by Sir J P Grant for legislative action in all these matters, which, if adopted, would tend in a great measure to remove these difficulties. These recommendations were as follows .—

1st, Provision by law for the award of penal damages in a suit for rent when the plaintiff had been inexcusably forced into Court by unreasonable refusal or contest, *2nd*, receipt of rent by the Collector in certain cases, *3rd*, improvement of the process for the realization of rents under Act X of 1859, by attachment of all the property of the defendant at the outset at the discretion of the Judge, *4th*, provision by law for the official measurement of lands when applied for by either *zamindar* or *raiyat*, *5th*, practical provision for registration of *niz jote* lands and other lands in *raiyati* tenure, so as to enable the police in cases of dispute to give prompt possession to the party registered, *6th*, amendment of the Cattle Trespass Act, so as to meet cases when the cattle were not trespassing, i e, when they were causing damage to their owner's land or crops, by which damage another person having some interest in the crops was injuriously affected, *7th*, joint village liability to fine for offences by masses These recommendations were duly considered, and some of the most important of them were embodied in Act VI (B C) of 1862 (an Act to amend the law relating to the recovery of rent) But it is hardly worth while to go into further detail The indigo interest had long been doomed and never recovered its former position in the districts of Lower Bengal When, in the spring of 1861 the Report of the Indigo Commission came under the consideration of the authorities in England, the question they had to decide was —were criminal proceedings for breach of contract necessary? Sir Charles Wood and his Council, after a careful review of the Report, were of opinion (so wrote his *quondam* Private Secretary) that breaches of contract ought not to entail criminal proceedings, that the relation between planters and *raiyats* should be held to be dependent on mutual good will,—on the interests of both being fairly considered,—on proper caution being exercised in making contracts, and on integrity and forbearance. The necessity for their relations with the *raiyats* being regulated by such considerations "would not

be realized by the planters relying as they did on Government assistance and the strong arm of the law being exercised in their favour against the *rayat* who" Lord Canning thought, "had been left too long in ignorance of the protection which he might claim against the proceedings of any planter who had bound him by unreal obligations and who had enforced them by illegal means and the decision arrived at was ably expressed in a despatch to the Governor-General on the 18th of April, 1861, in which, when reviewing a Bill transmitted to the Home Government—the object of which was to provide for the punishment of breaches of contract for the cultivation production gathering provision manufacture carriage and delivery of agricultural produce"—Sir Charles Wood said —

"The question of making breaches of contract for the cultivation "and delivery of agricultural produce punishable by criminal proceeding "is not one which now for the first time presents itself for consideration "It has been maturely considered, and the deliberate judgment of the "Indian Law Commissioners of the Legislative Council, of the Secretary "of State in Council of the majority of the Indigo Commissioners, of "the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal, and even, as it appears to me of your own Government, has been recorded against any such measure "I am not prepared to give my sanction to the law which you propose "and to subject to criminal proceedings matters which have hitherto "been held as coming exclusively under the jurisdiction of the civil "tribunal and I request that the Bill for the punishment of breaches of "Contract recently introduced by you into the Legislative Council may "be withdrawn

large The play was described, in an introduction to the translation, as giving "the annals of the poor," though exhibiting no marvellous or very tragic scenes it "pleads the cause of those who are the feeble, it describes a respectable *rayat*, a peasant proprietor, happy with his family in the enjoyment of his land till the indigo system compelled him to take advances, to neglect his own land, to cultivate crops which beggared him, reducing him to the condition of a serf and a vagabond, the effects of this on his home, children, and relatives are pointed out in language, plain but true, it shows how arbitrary power debases the lord as well as the peasant; reference is also made to the partiality of various Magistrates in favour of planters and to the Act of the last year penally enforcing indigo contracts"

The translation, with a preface by the author, Rai Dinabandhu Mitra Bahadur, a man of some erudition and poetical ability, was circulated with the sanction of the Secretary to the Government of Bengal, Mr W S Seton-Karr The Landholders' and Commercial Association through their Secretary, Mr W F Fergusson, addressed Government, asking whether the publication had been circulated with the sanction and authority of the Government of Bengal, and for the names of the parties who had circulated "a foul and malicious libel on indigo planters tending to excite sedition and breaches of the peace," with a view to their prosecution In the correspondence which ensued Government pointed out that indigo planters were not the only class, native or European, criticised in the Bengali play as faults had been imputed as unsparingly to European Magistrates, native officials, and native factory *amla*, as to indigo planters The Association took action in the Courts Mr Manuel, the printer of the translation was prosecuted in the Supreme Court for libel, and fined the Reverend Mr Long, who had superintended the translation of the play, was fined and imprisoned for a month by the same Court The fine was at once paid by Babu Kali Prosanna Singha

The whole matter was dealt with officially by the Government of Bengal and the Government of India On the 19th June 1861, Sir J P Grant recorded a Minute on the facts, and submitted it to the Governor-General This Minute ran as follows

"The words charged as libellous, I understand, are not in the play, but in a preface by the author prefixed to the play

"The issue of the pamphlet in question in any manner was not by my

order or with my knowledge, and I never saw it, or knew a word that was in it, until it had been circulated in the manner described by Mr Fergusson.

The issue was made through a very unfortunate error of the late Secretary Mr Seton Karr several months ago, mentioned to me that he had been informed that a curious Bengali play had been written the subject of which was indigo,—a genuine native production —a translation of which might be made by a private hand, and some copies printed off at a trifling cost I wished to see the work, partly as a curiosity and partly because I thought it likely that it would show what the real popular feeling was on the subject better than anything else.

I thought it probable that, besides any value the work might have as a literary curiosity it might prove to be such that a few copies might with propriety be privately given to friends in official and private positions, with the same object as that which made me wish for an opportunity of seeing what the work was like myself

I have always been of opinion that, considering our state of more than semi isolation from all classes of native society public functionaries in India have been habitually too regardless of those depths of native feeling which do not show upon the surface, and too habitually careless of all means of information which are available to us for ascertaining them Popular songs everywhere, and, in Bengal popular native plays, are amongst the most potent, and most neglected, of those means. I have always attributed our unforewarned condition, when the shock of 185 occurred, to this popular defect. I did not on this occasion regard the matter as one of importance; but still the opportunity seemed a good one of knowing how natives spoke of the indigo question among themselves when they had no European to please or to displease by opening their minds.

Mr Seton Karr's ideas on this point were the same as mine and I had thought it was understood when our conversation on the subject was ended, that the translation and the printing of a few copies were to be a wholly private affair

I do not believe I ever heard a word more about the matter till a copy of the printed publication was sent to me at Parasnath without any accompanying letter shortly before an accident happened to my camp there which obliged me to return for 2 or 3 weeks to Calcutta

On my first interview with the Secretary which was before the excitement caused by the official circulation of the pamphlet had [illegible] I found that he had been under some impression that the translating was to be a Government act paid for by Government at which impression I

immediately corrected I found also that the pamphlet had been circulated, and circulated under official frank, which was past remedy

It is obvious and the point is candidly admitted and deeply regretted by the late Secretary that, even upon his understanding of the affair, not a copy should have been circulated till the Lieutenant-Governor had seen the work and authorized its circulation Had this error not been fallen into unadvisedly, the Secretary's mistaken impression would have had no ill consequences

The occurrence is extremely unfortunate, and has distressed me beyond measure It has excited irritation, when it was an object to allay irritation But before I was made aware of it, the mischief was done"

Mr Seton-Karr (who was then Legislative Member for Bengal of the Governor-General's Legislative Council) made an explanation to the public by addressing the *Englishman* newspaper, and stated his connection with the matter in the following letter dated the 29th July 1861 to the Government of Bengal —

"As in the late trial of the Revd J Long, before the Supreme Court, there was mention, in the evidence, of the Bengal Office, and allusion was made to my orders as Secretary, I think it right to lay before the Lieutenant-Governor an official statement regarding my connection with the drama called the *Nil Darpan*

I take this opportunity of enclosing a copy of the *Englishman* newspaper of this day's date, containing an explanation which I have thought right to make public at as early a date as possible, and I solicit the Lieutenant-Governor's attentive perusal of the same

The printed statement in question is intended to clear up charges of unfair dealing, and of personal hostility to the planters, made against me, to make such explanation as was due to persons who felt themselves aggrieved by the publication, and to explain some passages in the play itself which I cannot but think have been greatly misrepresented What I know of the history of this drama will be found in my printed statement, and I can only add hereto, that the Revd Mr Long has been known to me and others as having, for years, devoted his attention to the vernacular literature of Bengal, and to the various publications which issue from the Native Press, and circulate among the middle and lower orders, to an extent of which very few Europeans are aware

Publications on divers social questions of interest have been by him brought to the notice of the authorities, of which a record will be found in the Bengal office

I believe that, at this period of Indian history, no one will seriously dispute the paramount importance of the Government of the country

being kept well informed of the state of feeling among natives, as shown by their periodical and other vernacular literature.

I mentioned the work to the Lieutenant Governor in the belief, as just expressed, that it was my duty to bring to his notice all native publications illustrative of popular feeling. The Lieutenant Governor as well as other persons, expressed a desire to see a translation of this drama, and Mr Long informed me that a native was willing to translate it. A translation was accordingly made under my sanction.

I think I am correct in stating that up to this point all I had done was also with the knowledge and sanction of the Lieutenant Governor. He approved of my noticing the work and of the act of translation and of the printing but he never intended that so large a number as 500 copies should be struck off. I believe that he contemplated that a small number of copies should be printed, to be dealt with as he might think fit.

When the work of translation and printing was completed the copies were brought to my notice and Mr Long gave me the names of the several persons to whom he was desirous that the work should be sent; *other names were also added by me to the list, and I must here distinctly* repeat, what I have avowed already that the circulation under the official frank took place with my sanction and knowledge, and without that of the Lieutenant Governor. I would observe that copies of this translation were sent to the persons to whom copies of official documents about the indigo crisis had been sent. Unfortunately I did not reflect that it was one thing to send off copies of official documents printed by order of *Government and therefore generally available for distribution or even* sale, to any person requiring them, and another thing to send off copies of a translation of a native play which had not been regularly submitted to the Lieutenant Governor but merely mentioned in the course of conversation to the Head of the Government.

Nor can I refuse to admit that this course may seem to place the Government of Bengal in the position of having acted apparently *without due consideration for the Government of India, and that His* Excellency the Governor General in Council may find in this grounds for grave complaint. This is a subject of deep regret to me but I cannot do otherwise than take the blame of this proceeding and of its consequences entirely on myself.

I had not however the least intention of showing the least disrespect either to the Government of Bengal or the Government of India, and I may remark that *no mention of the Nil Durpan* has been made in any public discussion in England, where it is not yet known that the copies have arrived at the [illegible]

I must urge that the [illegible]

Darpan or any other such publication to the notice of Government is one which it behoves every officer not to neglect, and that in the situation of Secretary I should not have been justified in disregarding the work. My error lay in not examining it more carefully before issue; and in issuing it, in the manner I did, without the knowledge of the Lieutenant-Governor.

I take this opportunity of placing on record the fact that, after the termination of the trial of Mr Long, I considered, looking to all that had taken place, that the retention by me of my appointment might be a source of embarrassment to the Government which I have the honor to serve and in this view I deemed it my duty, on Thursday, the 25th instant, or the day after the sentence, to place my resignation of my present appointment as Legislative Member for Bengal at the disposal of the Lieutenant-Governor, as well as to renounce my right to revert to my previous appointment as Secretary to Government, which had been reserved to me in the event of changes taking place in the constitution of the Council.

But His Honor did not see reason to act on the power which I then placed in his hands.

I now leave the subject in the hands of the Government, and the Lieutenant-Governor will probably do me the justice to believe that, if I say no more on this subject, it is not because I do not deeply regret the general irritation which has been excited, the attacks to which the Government has been exposed, and the consequences to a very earnest, zealous and single-hearted Missionary, for whom, in his misfortunes, I cannot but feel the deepest sympathy.

In a further brief Minute of 30th July Sir J P Grant sent up Mr. Seton-Karr's letter to the Government of India He wrote —

"Mr Seton-Karr's narrative correctly describes the circumstances He candidly acknowledges the serious error committed, but I am sure that, in circulating the translation in question, he did not contemplate either giving offence to any class, or placing the Government in a false position In putting his resignation of his office of Member of the Legislative Council at the disposal of Government, he has acted the part of an honorable and high-minded man, consistently with his own established character I did not think that the public interests would be served by acting upon the power thus placed in my hands, but my judgment does not affect the case so far as Mr Seton-Karr's disinterested conduct is concerned."

The Governor-General thereupon, on the 8th August 1861, issued the following Resolution on the whole case —

"On the 22nd June, the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal submitted to the Governor General in Council His Honor's Minute of the 19th June, and a correspondence with the Landholders' and Commercial Association, relative to the circulation, under official frank, of a translation of the *Nil Darpan*, a Bengali drama on the subject of indigo cultivation

In one of their letters the Association indicated an intention, under certain contingencies, to appeal to the Government of India and the announcement of this intention combined with the subsequent adoption of legal proceedings by the Association, rendered it undesirable for the Governor General in Council to enter on the questions raised with any view to their final disposal even had the case been fully before the Government of India.

His Honor's Minute was therefore transmitted to the Secretary of State without the expression of any opinion by the Governor-General in Council.

His Honor now forwards a copy of a further Minute by himself on a letter from Mr Seton Karr who was, when the occurrence referred to took place, Secretary to the Government of Bengal It encloses a statement which that gentleman has, with permission, published relative to his share in the translation and circulation of the drama.

The whole transaction has in the meantime formed the subject of 2 trials in the Supreme Court. The Printer has been fined and the Revd. Mr Long who superintended the translation of the work, and took part in the other proceedings complained of by the Landholders and Commercial Association has been fined and imprisoned by sentence of the Supreme Court.

No appeal has yet been received by the Government of India from the Landholders and Commercial Association and no further legal steps have as far as is known been taken by that body But their case is stated fully in the published proceedings of the trials and there is no reason why the Government of India should longer delay to express its opinion on an act of a high officer of the Government of Bengal which has been openly challenged as incompatible with the duty of a public servant

The work itself and the meaning of the passages complained of have been made the subject of formal judicial inquiry and decision in the Supreme Court.

It would therefore be unbecoming for the Government of India to discuss any questions connected with the character of the work

But, while expressing no opinion regarding the work [illegible] willingly accepting the [illegible] in [illegible] the fullest and most unreserved confidence in the [illegible] of Mr Seton Karr that the passages complained of never [illegible]

selves to his mind as capable of being read in the light in which they appeared to the parties who are aggrieved by them, and while utterly discarding all imputation of hostility to those parties in an officer who had lately discharged, in an impartial and conciliatory spirit functions almost judicial in their bearing upon the interests of the indigo planters of Lower Bengal, the Governor General in Council cannot but say that the most complete vindication of the passages impugned would go but a small way to lessen the regret with which he views the whole proceeding

His Honor the Lieutenant-Governor, in sanctioning the translation of the play, had no knowledge that it contained any passages of the circulation of which any person, or body of persons, could suppose that they had a right to complain He was not aware of the steps taken to distribute the translation, until it was too late to prevent the distribution. And here the Governor-General in Council can find nothing to regret in what His Honor did, unless it be that the examination, and, if necessary, the translation or circulation of an original vernacular work, throwing light on any political question, was not undertaken as a part of a regular system, and subjected to all the checks of supervision usual in any department of ordinary administration

But His Excellency in Council cannot impute blame to the Government of Bengal that this has not been done, for the subject of systematically and officially reporting on the publications of the Native Press is one the importance of which had been repeatedly noticed by His Honor and regarding which, but for more pressing calls on his attention, some definite and regular course would doubtless, ere now, have been adopted

It is, however, a subject of great regret to the Governor-General in Council that, after the peculiar circumstances of the distribution of this work, under the official frank of the Government of Bengal, were brought to His Honor's notice by the Landholders' and Commercial Association, His Honor confined himself to disavowing and disapproving the unauthorized proceedings of the Secretary to the Bengal Government. It is possible that His Honor was as imperfectly informed, as the Government of India has till lately been, as to the particulars of the case But these particulars ought, in the opinion of the Governor-General in Council, to have been searched out by the Government of Bengal and, where condemnation from the Head of that Department was due, it should have followed at once, in such manner as to mark unmistakeably His Honor's displeasure and to render it impossible to implicate his Government in acts which were not only unauthorized but quite unjustifiable

The Governor-General in Council is well aware that the intimation conveyed in the letter from the Landholders' and Commercial Associa-

tion, that any information given by the Lieutenant Governor would be made use of to prosecute "with the utmost rigour of the law the parties concerned was a sufficient reason why His Honor should not prejudice the rights of possible parties in the case, by communicating information which he was warned might be used in legal proceedings, the exact nature and extent of which could only be conjectured.

But the Governor General in Council does not doubt that the Lieutenant Governor's displeasure might have been emphatically signified without entailing this or any other evil consequence indeed His Excellency in Council believes that the consequences would have been good rather than evil and, at all events, it was incumbent on His Honor to lay the case fully before the Governor General in Council, in order that His Excellency in Council might pass his judgment upon acts which, besides a breach of the duty of a Secretary to the Government of Bengal, trenched upon the authority of the Government of India.

It appears from the published proceedings of the trial of the Revd Mr Long that although no copies of the translated pamphlet have yet been officially furnished to the Government of India, and although none were supplied to the individual Members of the Government until they were applied for after the distribution had become the subject of public discussion, numerous copies had been sent, as if by the authority of the Government of Bengal, to Members of Parliament and Public Bodies in England, to some parties at a distance in this country and, to the amount of no less than 20 copies, to the office of the Secretary of State in London. More than this could not have been done to give emphasis and currency to the publication of opinions endorsed by the Government of India. Nevertheless the most important features of the apparent sanction thus given to the circulation of the pamphlet have only become known to the Government of India through the published reports of the trials.

This course even had it been authorised by the Lieutenant Governor would have been a grave irregularity and, in the case of a document having an important bearing on great controversial questions, would not have been excusable as an inadvertence It would have evinced a disregard of the relative position of the Government of Bengal, the Governor General in Council and the Secretary of State and would have called for prompt notice by the Government of India

The proceeding however was not only unauthorised by but unknown to, His Honor and remains the act of the Secretary and for which Mr Seton Karr admits that he alone is responsible

Mr Seton Karr now expresses his regret that the Government of Bengal should, by his unauthorised circulation of the pamphlet, have

been placed in the position of having acted apparently without due consideration for the Government of India, but no explanation or apology is offered by him for having omitted to impart to the latter Government information which he regarded as of paramount importance to it, and the preparation of which in an English form had been justified by him, and very properly justified, on that ground He is therefore chargeable, not only with an unwarrantable assumption and indiscreet exercise of an authority which did not belong to him, but with a neglect of duty which it is difficult to reconcile with the motives that led him to such an assumption

The Governor-General in Council could have wished that these errors had been noticed by His Honor the Lieutenant-Governor with the gravity which they deserve, as very serious infractions of the Secretary's duty. His Excellency in Council is fully sensible that to have caused, even by inadvertence, a great public scandal, to have thereby embittered the strife of parties and classes, to have wounded, however unintentionally, the feelings of many of his fellow-countrymen, and to have involved others in criminal prosecution and punishment, are of themselves penalties as severe as can well be suffered by a zealous and high-minded public servant who has at heart the honour of that Government, which for many years he has served with the highest credit, and which has lately placed him in the foremost rank of its public functionaries Nor does the Governor-General in Council forget that regret for all this has been expressed by Mr Seton-Karr in a most honourable spirit, and that he has becomingly tendered to the Lieutenant-Governor the resignation of his office But His Excellency in Council cannot consider that the Government is thereby absolved from the duty of making sure that the important ministerial functions of the Secretary to the Government of Bengal shall not be resumed by an officer by whom, from whatever cause, they have been exercised with grievous indiscretion And in this view it is decidedly the opinion of the Governor-General in Council that, when Mr Seton-Karr shall no longer have to discharge the duties of his present position in the Legislative Council, he should not be allowed to return to the office of the Secretary to the Government of Bengal"

A statement, dated the 20th June 1861, was printed by the Revd Mr Long to explain his connection with the *Nil Darpan* He dwelt on his acquaintance with the Native Press and their publications, and on the importance of the Europeans knowing the tendency of the native mind as manifested therein it was this, he said, that had induced him to bring to the notice of certain persons the *Nil Darpan*, "which though highly coloured appeared to give the native

view of the effects of the Indigo planting system. At the same time he expressed his regret that while the coarser passages of the play had been expunged or softened in the translation any that had given offence had been inadvertently allowed to remain. It does not appear that this statement affected the case in any way.

On the 12th August 1861 Mr Seton Karr submitted a full apology to the Government of India for having omitted to impart to that Government information which he regarded as of paramount importance to it. This apology was willingly accepted by Lord Canning. The Secretary of State who had stated his entire disapproval of the circulation of the translation under the official seal and frank of the Bengal Government agreed that Mr Seton Karr should not be allowed to resume his Secretaryship but expressed no doubt that "so able and distinguished a public servant as Mr Seton Karr has shown himself to be will on his ceasing to sit in the Legislative Council be placed in some suitable situation where the public may have the benefit of his service." He became subsequently a Judge of the High Court and Secretary to the Government of India in the Foreign Department.

Further [illegible] action.

Some anxiety was felt in 1861 for the tranquillity of the indigo districts during the sowing season and every possible precaution was taken for the prevention of disturbances. The new arrangements for subdivisions in the Nadia Division had been completed before the season commenced and a Magisterial officer was appointed to each new subdivision extra Deputy Magistrates were also posted wherever their services were required and detachments of Native Infantry of the strength of 200 men each were placed at the sadar stations of Nadia and Jessore. The Magistrates of the indigo districts were authorized to entertain extra bodies of police wherever they might find it necessary to do so and directed to keep them in readiness in compact bodies of not less than 25 men for rapid movement as required. In spite of these precautions there were a few specific acts of violence and in most of them the offenders were arrested and punished. There were also [illegible] assemblies in several [illegible] but the prompt appearance of the [illegible] stations in almost every case. It was [illegible] [illegible] in the [illegible]

Government directed their officers to give all assistance in the way of exhortation and explanation, and offered to assist indigo planters holding *talukdari* tenures with loans of money to save the tenures from sale for arrears of rent Government endeavoured to persuade planter-*zamindars* to receive, and their *raiyats* to pay, on account, where the only dispute between them was about the rate or amount of rent due, and ordered a postponement of the demand for revenue from any planter-*zamindar* who might satisfactorily establish that his efforts to collect the rents due to him had been successful

When, in the autumn of 1861, the Government of Bengal laid before the Government of India the Reports of the Special Commissioners, Mr Montresor and Mr Morris, some very animated correspondence ensued between the Government of India and Sir J. P Grant The former stated that the primary object which they had in view, in suggesting on 11th March 1861 (just after the deputation of landholders to the Viceroy) the appointment of a Special Commissioner had not been fully apprehended either by the local Government or the special officers, and that the success of the measure had accordingly been partial their primary object was, they said, to bring about a settlement as to the matter of rent and a permanent and final adjustment of the differences existing between the landholders and the *raiyats*, that is by reconciliation and arbitration and on failure of all attempts at adjustment to administer the law Sir J P Grant had understood the primary object to be the enforcement of the prompt payment of arrears of rent justly due, and the checking by strong official action of all tendency to a general or extensive withholding of rents, of which fears had been expressed Both Governments had agreed that the special officers were to deal only with the question of rent and to have nothing to do with indigo Sir J P Grant contended that the permanent and final adjustment of differences, at the bottom of which was indigo, was impossible, as the special officers were expressly ordered to avoid that subject The Government of India disclaimed the intention of attributing any blame to Sir J P Grant or the special officers for having acted on his construction of the orders of the 11th March 1861, but added that the tone of disrespect which pervaded Sir J P Grant's letter was not justified and was inconsistent with the relative positions of the Government of India and the Government of

Bengal The Government of India at first desired that another Special Commissioner should be deputed to carry out their views of effecting reconciliation. But this order was subsequently modified on its being explained that though indigo was the origin of the differences and was still more or less directly the main cause of misunderstanding yet the form which the troubles had assumed was that of a general and vast enhancement of rents and eviction of *rayats* in masses that the work to be accomplished was something approaching to the re settlement of the districts where the excitement prevailed and that the only plan which was likely to succeed in such circumstances consisted rather in the appointment of an officer to exercise the united powers of a Collector Judge and Commissioner in respect of all suits under Act X of 1859 who could authoritatively settle the conflicting rights and interests of parties at variance The course suggested was approved by the Government of India and was carried out by the appointment of 2 additional officers, Messrs. F Jackson and C H Campbell to exercise the powers indicated in the districts of Nadia and Jessore respectively

On the day of his retirement, the 23rd April 1862 Sir J P Grant apologized in a Minute of that date for the wording and tone of his language in defending his conduct which had been pronounced to be disrespectful As the letter of the Government of India which had been understood to be equivalent to a severe censure had been published, Sir J P Grant asked for the publication of the papers which withdrew all imputation of blame but Lord Elgin who had become Governor General decided on the 3rd May not to publish more papers as Lord Canning, two Members of his Council and Sir J P Grant had all meanwhile retired

Primary Education.

While the indigo disturbances were occurring Sir J P Grant continued to devote considerable time to the subject of Primary Education. The existence of indigenous schools throughout the province of Bengal was not unknown to Government but, in case of working upon them [illegible] and obtaining results from them attempts had been made [illegible] spasmodically from time to time [illegible] a higher type [illegible] Sir J P Grant [illegible] and on information received from them [illegible]

Primary Education as fully set out in his Secretary's (Mr. Seton-Karr's) letter of the 19th October 1860, to the Government of India, on the subject of providing cheap schools for the masses, and of improving and extending vernacular education generally —

"The Lieutenant-Governor has referred to Lord Stanley's despatch on the subject of education generally, which was received after the first of your letters under acknowledgment had been forwarded, and in which various important points connected with education are discussed, but the present communication will be confined to an exposition of his views regarding Vernacular Education for the lower classes, and to the question of the funds from which such education must be supplied The Lieutenant-Governor has consulted on this important subject not only the officials of the Education Department, but several other gentlemen, Europeans and natives, who have either had practical experience in dealing with village schools, or have always shown an interest in the elevation and well-being of the *raiyats* The information given by the above gentlemen is herewith forwarded, and aided by their opinions, as well as by a consideration of the means hitherto employed for this object, the Lieutenant-Governor is now enabled to explain the plan which he recommends for the attainment of the object in view

The Lieutenant-Governor clearly understands the intention of the Government of India, and of the Home Government, to be that grants-in-aid are not to be applied to the extension or support of purely indigenous or vernacular schools, but are to be reserved for English schools, for Anglo-vernacular schools, and for vernacular schools of a comparatively high order. The present object then is to devise some scheme for the instruction of the lower agricultural classes which may be tried at once experimentally, but shall be capable of easy extension , and be not ill-adapted to any existing system , suitable to the wants of the people , not calculated to offend their prejudices, and, above all, which shall not be attended with inordinate expense, not only at first, but when developed to its fullest extent

Bearing this in mind, the Lieutenant-Governor has come to the conclusion that our best chance of success lies in basing a new scheme on the indigenous schools already existing throughout the districts of Bengal, and, indeed, to be found more or less in every part of India He has fully considered everything that can be said, and that has been said, to the disparagement of these primitive institutions. The poor appearance of the sheds used as school-houses , the ignorance, obstinacy and prejudice of the *gurus* who preside over them , the almost total want of school books , the very humble character of the instruction

generally imparted; and the poverty of the scholars, have not been overlooked. But if we are to convey instruction of any kind to the lower orders, we must not, the Lieutenant Governor thinks, affect to disregard the kind of instruction that the people have hitherto sought and approved. All attempts made to reach the mere agriculturists, however praiseworthy and by whatever amount of talent and energy supported, must fail wherever they are not in unison with the habits and feelings of the people. The kind of instruction which the people naturally desire must not be forgotten. The aid of the village school masters must be invoked. The possibility of elevating and improving both the schools, and the race of school masters, should not be hastily disregarded. Any scheme involving the abolition of all existing village schools, and the deprivation of all the school masters must create for itself obstacles that may be insurmountable.

The ground work of the plan which the Lieutenant Governor contemplates must therefore be the present indigenous schools. That they exist in numbers, in Lower Bengal especially is unquestionable. Mr Long estimates that in Bengal alone there are 30,000 village *gurus* and indeed all persons who have been consulted at any time when the question of vernacular education has been under consideration, from the time of Mr Adam downwards, however they might differ as to the possibility of improvement, have had no doubt as to their existence or as to their numbers. The Lieutenant Governor then, approving only of a scheme which shall openly recognize the existence and utility of these institutions, would set about this recognition in the following manner.

Lists of every village school in each *zilla* that may be included in the scene of operations should be prepared by the Education Department in communication with the District Officers. The Inspector aided by Deputy Inspectors, should then proceed to make his selection of the schools which he may think most important and most capable of improvement. In doing this he would naturally be guided partly by personal and partly by local considerations. In this selection much will depend on the judgment and tact of the inspecting officer.

When the requisite number of [illegible] shall ha[illegible] be[illegible] [illegible]ted, the Inspector must endeavour to [illegible] the *gurus* [illegible] supporters of the schools who are often [illegible] to submit to periodical inspection. [illegible] would not propose that any [illegible] school must [illegible] as to [illegible] the number of scholars [illegible] statements of any kind [illegible]

officer, before admitting the school on his list, must take care to satisfy himself that there is a school-house in existence, and that it has a fair daily attendance of scholars, also that the master is willing to receive the support of Government The erection and repairs of the school-house being left to the inhabitants, the teacher would be chiefly remunerated, as he is now, by the fees of the scholars In this way the cost of the institution of the school, and the greater part of the expense of its maintenance, being still defrayed by the people of the neighbourhood, the scheme, even when fully developed, need not be impracticable from its costliness But in order to enlist the sympathies of the teacher, and to overcome his prejudices, as well as to raise the character of the institution, the following means are suggested Books should be supplied to the school at a very low price These books should contain, in a compact form, all that has hitherto been taught at such places by dictation, namely, arithmetic, agricultural and commercial accounts, forms of agreements, quittances of rent, bonds, &c, and even models of the complimentary or formal letters which inferiors constantly address to their superiors The Lieutenant-Governor does not feel warranted in despising this last kind of instruction, because it is not conveyed to the son of an English peasant It is sufficient for our purposes that such instruction has been imparted in India for generations The above course will enable any lad of ordinary intelligence to read and write correctly, and to see that he is not cheated in his accounts by the *mahajan* or the agent of the *zamindar* A book of this kind has been in use in some schools in Calcutta, and, as being in every way suited for the purpose, should be largely supplied to other similar schools

On this rude and primitive foundation, the Lieutenant-Governor would build a structure of a better kind, taking great care, however, that the higher and better instruction offered should not be too much in advance of the requirements of the people He would rigidly exclude all attempts at English instruction, or at imparting to Bengal village boys information which can in their case serve no purpose but to puzzle their heads with strange names, and foreign ideas He would restrict the improved course to the measurement of land to some short Bengali grammar of the simplest kind, and to the very first elements of geography, and of Indian history If the sons of *raiyats*, in addition to the present course of village instruction, can be induced to read books of instruction and amusement (which must be for the most part written for the purpose,) to write with neatness on leaves or paper, to measure their own lands correctly, and to know a little about the existence of other countries and the history and condition of their own, with the

prospect of a better education for their sons, a great step will have been made.

When the selection of certain schools has been made, and when it has been formally announced that the course of instruction shall not be hastily changed, and shall be supplied with the mechanical aids of which it has hitherto been destitute, it will still be necessary to secure the co-operation of the *guru*. But, to this end, the Lieutenant Governor thinks that any compulsory examination which some gentlemen have recommended shall be forced on such persons, would defeat the object which we have in view. It is useless to expect that the ordinary race of village teachers would submit to any ordeal of the kind. All that can be done is, by conference, by judicious advice and by holding out hopes of reward, to stimulate the best men of the class to greater exertion, and to lead them to adopt an improved course of study. This, it must be conceded, is the one difficulty of the scheme. But it does not seem an insurmountable difficulty. When a certain number of *gurus* shall have been induced to adopt the improved system, the feelin[illegible] of the people will be so much in favour of it as to force it upon the remainder or to drive them out of employment.

It is here, of course, that the substantial aid of Government must come in and there can be no inducement so powerful as a payment of a reward in cash. The Lieutenant Governor would take care that these rewards should be quite distinct from any system of grants in aid. They would be distributed within a fixed limit by the Inspector on his bein[illegible] satisfied that the school had been well attended by scholars who had passed a fair examination in the subjects to which it is proposed in this letter to limit the education of the *[illegible]*. In this way the minute returns, the lengthy statements, and the constant supervision necessary in the system of grants in aid, and noticed as prejudicial by Dr. [illegible] in his letter of the [illegible]th of August 1859, would be quite unnecessary. Whilst on the other hand, care must be taken that rewards are not given for mere masters of boys collected together to make a good show. Visits should take place only as often as is necessary for a fair knowledge of what is going on. We know that when the [illegible] want as they will maintain one [illegible] if the son of an agriculturist [illegible] anything at all he will attend such a school, and if the *guru* [illegible] of teaching at all, he will find [illegible] [illegible] such schools when brought [illegible] [illegible] inhabitants, that the State [illegible] [illegible] need in no case exceed half the fees which [illegible] or say a sum of [illegible] [illegible] amount to [illegible] Taking the average of a [illegible]

Rs 5 a month, the sum spent in rewards to each school-master would not on an average exceed Rs 30 a year, and the Lieutenant-Governor believes that the prospect of such a sum would stimulate all but the most apathetic and bigoted teachers If any *guru* proves impervious to advice, encouragement, or the hope of reward, or, having promised largely, fails to fulfil his promises, he will at once be struck off the Government lists But if, by advice, conciliatory treatment, books and substantial rewards even a dozen schools were led to adopt a better and higher kind of instruction in any one *zilla*, the latent energies of neighbouring school masters would in time be excited, and, if a scheme so based should once gain a secured footing, there might eventually, the Lieutenant Governor thinks, be no limit to the extension of vernacular education, except the wants of the people

The Lieutenant Governor has no objection to see a few vernacular schools established by Government, to serve as models to the indigenous schools He thinks that about half a dozen of these should be established in each district, on a scale to be explained hereafter, but he would avoid the error of establishing them at the *sadar* stations, or even necessarily at the stations of sub divisions These places have been sometimes selected under the idea that supervision could there be most readily exercised This is true, but the tendency of the native servants of Government, whose sons mostly frequent schools at such places, is to wish for English education, and vernacular schools so situated might not attract the class of scholars for whose benefit the present scheme is intended The places selected for the model schools to be established by Government should be, not *bazars*, but the thickly populated rural villages, inhabited partly by artizans, but mainly by agriculturists of rather the better class The things taught in the Government institution should be absolutely identical with those taught in the indigenous institution The house will be better built, and the teachers better educated and better paid, and books and writing materials will from the first take the place of dictation and scribbling on sand Of course such schools cannot be established at the cost of Rs 50 a year, which sum, by the plan now under discussion, it is proposed shall be the limit of expense for all purposes in each purely village school The Government would have to build the school-house and to keep it in repair, and the salary of the head teacher, which might be available for the occasional inspection and examination of other schools, could not be fixed at less than Rs 20 a month this sum to be paid exclusive of the fees, which should be demanded from the scholars at the monthly rate of 1 anna or 2 annas a head Books must be supplied at a very trifling cost, as to the other schools previously in existence

The arrangements being approved for the supervision of the indigenous, and for the establishment of Government schools to serve as models, there remains for consideration the staff by which the schools are to be selected, supervised and in some degree controlled. For this it would be necessary to have a staff of Deputy Inspectors. But as repeated visits and constant supervision by such Inspectors do not form a part of the present proposal it would be possible the Lieutenant Governor thinks, to have the work performed by a moderate number of such officers. Taking the scale of indigenous schools to be visited at 100 per *zilla* at first and each school to require visits not much more than once a quarter there would be 400 visits to be performed annually. To do justice to this number not less than 4 Deputy Inspectors would be required, who would each have 25 schools to look after in his own circle. The Deputy Inspectors might reside near the model schools, and bestow a close attention to their improvement at such times as they were not going the round of the villages. Institutions wholly supported by Government obviously demand, and can endure, a more strict superintendence then independent institutions, presided over by *gurus* self-elected, or chosen and paid by the *talukdars* and *raiyats* and one main object of the plan which the Lieutenant Governor is now proposing is that the retention of the indigenous schools on the Government list should depend, not on minute control but on the results shown at each examination.

The expense of this scheme would be as follows The Lieutenant Governor will take the number of 100 schools, with 6 model schools and their necessary staff as one suitable for an experiment, and capable of being enlarged by doubling or trebling or quadrupling the scale of the whole expenditure thus 100 indigenous schools in each district costing Rs. 50 a year in all would amount to Rs. 5,000 a year. The model schools could not be supported at a less cost than Rs. 30 a month, including the salary of the head teacher fixed at Rs. 30 or Rs. 360 a year. The salaries of the Deputy Inspectors must be liberal, to secure the services of men of independence honesty and energy and the Lieutenant Governor does not think that qualified persons could be secured for less than Rs. 100 a month including travelling allowances. Thus the whole expense for one district would be as follows —

	Month.	Year
100 indigenous schools	...	5,000
6 model schools, each at Rs. 30 a month	180	2,160
4 Sub-Inspectors, each at Rs. 100 a month	400	4,800
		11,960
Total in round numbers Rs.	...	12,000

It is by no means the intention of the Lieutenant-Governor to recommend that the support of the State should be limited to 100 schools in a district, with half a dozen model schools, and a corresponding staff of inspecting officers The above is taken as a fair proportion to start with, on a reasonable scale of expenditure, worthy of being tested , and, should the plan succeed, it will be a mere question of money whether the numbers, as before stated, should not be doubled, trebled, quadrupled, or still more largely multiplied If the time should ever arrive when we could show* 1,000 village schools to a district, aided by Government, and affording the agriculturists a simple and practical education, commensurate with their wants, the State, in such a case, might be held to have fairly done its duty by the neglected portion of its subjects

* Note —The number of villages in a large district is about 5,000, this would give one school to every 5 villages

The above plan has already been tried in some of the districts of Bengal to a very limited extent, and it is now under trial in Assam

Another plan of dealing with indigenous schools has been tried by Mr. Woodrow, the Inspector for East Bengal Its basis of operations is partly the same as that of the plan above recommended The village schools, with their primitive instruction, are taken as they are found. The difference is in the treatment of the schools and of the master

Mr Woodrow selects 3 village schools within a circle of 2 or 3 miles of each other To these 3 schools one *pandit* is attached by Government, who receives a salary of Rs 15 a month, and who visits each of the 3 schools once a week, spending 2 days at each school It is the business of the *pandit* to prevail on the village *guru* to adopt an improved course of instruction, and to show him practically the details of this course. For this end money is freely spent in rewards to such *gurus* as consent to enter on the new system, and these rewards are of course exclusive of the salaries of the *pandits* It often happens that of the 3 schools one assumes a marked superiority over the other 2, and when this result takes place, and the inhabitants exhibit an anxiety for a permanent teacher to supplant the *guru*, the *pandit* is then appointed to be their teacher on a salary not of Rs 15 but of 10, the difference being made up to him by the fees of the scholars , and the school thus becomes in every respect a vernacular school, wholly maintained by Government This experiment, as tried by Mr Woodrow, already embraces in round numbers 200 schools in an aggregate of 3 or 4 districts The cost of each of the 3 schools, to which the *pandit's* salary is chargeable, has been hitherto Rs 6, i e. Rs 5 salary and Re 1 for reward, and the cost of any 1 school, when fairly converted into a Government school, could not be taken at less than Rs. 15, i e Rs 10 salary and Rs 5 incidental expenses,

which are as effectual, and can be made, under an Act (XI of 1859) I had myself the pleasure of introducing as secure as the chief tenure. The *zamindari* tenure and all derivative and subordinate tenures confer the right to rents, variable or invariable; subject to the payment therefrom of the Government revenue; and they are valued because of their money profits, and the influence over the *raiyats* which they give; but they do not generally convey the dominion of the land which resides for the most part in the *raiyat* having the right of occupancy, whose tenure is anterior to, and independent of, that of the *zamindar*. As far as the *zamindari* tenure goes, it is shown that planters have, in practice, every reasonable and natural facility for obtaining permanently or temporarily all the rights which that tenure gives and that native *zamindars*, generally have no hostility to them as a class.

27. On this point, however I must observe that some great *zamindars* will not part with the management of their own *zamindari*, and it is known that some object to the extension of the existing system of indigo planting in their *zamindari*, not on their own account, but on account of their *raiyats*. The enforcement of a healthy system of indigo planting beneficial to grower as well as to manufacturer would remove this objection.

28. It has never been doubted that a planter or any one else can purchase what *raiyati* tenures he can pay the price for if he pleases. But the cost would be excessive, by reason of the value of the property; and, when planters do all they can to get rid of *nij* cultivation, they are not likely, save in exceptional cases, to spend much money in paying large prices for *raiyati* [illegible].

29. One practice is mentioned, which is known to be not uncommon and which, I think, deserves more reprehension than it has received. I refer to the practice of a *zamindar* giving a lease of his *zamindari* right to a planter at a rent which not only leaves no margin for expenses and risks of collection, but which is largely in excess of the gross rental lawfully demandable from the *raiyats*. In such cases the only possible reason for agreeing to pay the excess is the expectation that by the misuse of the *zamindari* right the holder may be able to extract in some way directly or indirectly more from the *raiyat* than is legally demandable. When a native *zamindar* does this directly in the form of money he is said to impose an illegal cess, and he is liable to a penalty of 3 times the amount imposed, for the entire period of such imposition, under the provisions of Section 65 Regulation VIII of 1793. I cannot see that the extraction of the same value in the form of indigo plant is, in any legal or moral view, different from an illegal cess of money. Such a system of leasing

Practice of taking under-tenures at excessive rents.

an illegal cess, being more indeterminate, is obviously liable to greater abuse in practice than a direct money cess The planters complain of this practice, and it is certainly very wrong in the *zamindar* to sell, as it were, not only his own rights but those of his *raiyats* But I cannot think that it is right in the planter to become a party to the act This practice is one of the smaller traits of the system that go far to explain the whole system If the planter spent the excess rent upon the *raiyats*, instead of upon the *zamindar*, the amount would enable him to obtain willing cultivators for some part of his required plant

30 There seems no other objectionable point in the ordinary relations between planter and *zamindar*, or in the system under which tenures are obtainable by planters

31 The Commissioners next proceed to discuss the relations between the planter and the *raiyat*, and under this head may be classed the following questions —the profitableness or unprofitableness of the crop to the *raiyat*, the willingness or unwillingness of the *raiyat* to grow it, and the means taken to induce the *raiyat* to grow it, which includes the question of the oppressions which the *raiyat* complains of

Second head relations between planter and *raiyat*.

32 The Commissioners pronounce conclusively that the cultivation is unprofitable to the *raiyat*, supporting the conclusion by the consentaneous evidence of the planters themselves This is indeed the one point upon which the whole indigo question turns, and it is not disputed I do not find that the Commissioners have gone so far into this point as to settle to what degree, pecuniarily, the cultivation is unprofitable, though that it is so to a very extreme degree is sufficiently apparent from the strength of the feeling against it, amongst those who would profit by it if it were profitable, and who ought to profit by it, and must profit by it, if it is to be carried on at all There is however a great mass of most valuable evidence upon this point in the Appendix of the Report I have gone into it to satisfy my own mind upon this point, and the result has convinced me that the loss of the *raiyat* in the cultivation of this crop on the high lands of Nadia and Jessore is, at the present time of agricultural high prices, greatly beyond even the general opinion on the subject In a separate note appended to this Minute, I have referred to the evidence proving this. Rejecting all extreme cases, and giving indigo the benefit of all doubts, I cannot put the absolute loss to the *raiyat* at a low average, reckoning the net loss on the cultivation of indigo at the highest price now allowed, and the loss of the net profit the *raiyat* would make by any other ordinary crop at the market price, at less than Rs 7 a *bigha*, equivalent at the least to 7 times the rent of the land.

Indigo cultivation unprofitable to the *raiyat*

33. Now if one remembers that these *raiyats* are not Carolina slaves, but the free yeomanry of this country and indeed, strictly speaking, the virtual owners of the greater part of the land in the old cultivated parts of Bengal so heavy a loss as this will fully account to us for the strength of the opposition to indigo cultivation which we have just experienced. One sixteenth of his whole land is a common proportion which it is insisted, an indigo *raiyat* shall sow in indigo. This is as though a farmer in Great Britain farming under a long lease 160 acres of land, at a rent of 2 pounds an acre were by some sort of pressure, forced to cultivate 10 acres, say in flax, which he was compelled to sell to a certain neighbouring manufacturer at a dead loss of £140 a year This is precisely a parallel case, in the legal and economical view In the social and political view the case of a new English landlord, forcing a corresponding loss upon several thousand Irish cotters, would perhaps be a fairer illustration.

Incidental advantages discussed

34. On the planter's side some reliance has been placed on certain incidental advantages claimed for an indigo *raiyat* So far as such alleged incidental advantages are of a tangible character they have failed away before the search of the Commission. But there is really little use in discussing such a point There is but one judge of the relative value of the advantages of the cultivation, direct and incidental and that is the *raiyat* And he has delivered his judgment on the point in an unmistakeable manner

Rent

35. The most tangible of the incidental advantages sometimes put forward is an alleged benefit in the form of a low rent. But not a single instance is advanced in which rents have been reduced by an indigo planter on obtaining a lease or *taluk* The extent of the claim goes no further than the assertion that indigo planters refrain from raising the rent But as to this, also, few instances are advanced in which a neighbouring *zemindar* has raised his rents whilst those of indigo *raiyats* were not raised In the concern of Mr Hill in Nadia the rent I understand have not been raised to the *pergana* standard On the whole I think it very probable that there may be some reality in certain cases, in the [illegible] tand [illegible] that a moderate proper and lawful increase of rents may be [illegible] planters who hold tenures of land and may be [illegible] the indigo manufacture But it is to be [illegible] the rent of a very large class of *raiyats* [illegible] can be raised [illegible] from a [illegible] can not be raised arbitrarily or beyond certain [illegible] when

raised at all, whilst no reasonable increase of rent upon 16 *bighas* would be *to the raiyat* equivalent to a loss of Rs 7 upon one *bigha*

36 To the indigo planter holding a tenure, indeed, the case will be different The evidence goes to show that the market value of the indigo dye made from the average produce of a *bigha* of land does not, at most, exceed Rs 10 The net profit of the manufacturer, under any system of payment for the raw plant, must of course be very much less It may well be that *to him*, therefore, a moderate, proper and lawful increase of rent upon 16 or 20 *bighas* of land, will be a compensation for all the profit possible from the indigo of one *bigha*, and, if this should be the case, all parties would have great cause to rejoice

Intense dislike of the *raiyats* to indigo cultivation

37 On the actual question of fact as to the dislike of *raiyats* to indigo cultivation on the old system, the Report of this Commission is conclusive as to the intensity of the feeling Indeed the Report, which in the mildness of its tone is admirable, can give but a faint impression of the intensity of the feeling on the *raiyat's* part, compared to that which a reader will derive from a perusal of the appended evidence of the *raiyats* themselves, and of the Missionaries who, living in unconstrained private intercourse with the *raiyats* around them, know the feelings of the whole class of *raiyats* better than any other Europeans do

38 This is the great point of political bearing in the whole question, and it cannot be too attentively considered by all who have any responsibility for the tranquillity of the country, and the strength of the British Government within it If any one thinks that such a demonstration of strong feeling, by hundreds of thousands of people as we have just witnessed in Bengal, has no meaning of greater importance than an ordinary commercial question concerning a particular blue dye, such a person, in my opinion, is fatally mistaken in the signs of the time

Means of inducement to grow indigo

39 The next point is the means taken to induce the *raiyat* to grow this crop, which has been proved to be very unprofitable, and intensely disliked The fact is, that the larger part of the dislike is due to the means indispensable to make people do what is very unprofitable, and the smaller part only to the actual loss of money involved Probably, most *raiyats* would grow a small quantity of indigo for nothing to please their *zamindars*, and this is the system which native *zamindars* who manufacture indigo, knowing their men, adopt The European, more devoted to the trade, less fearful of ulterior consequences, and knowing his men less, has strained the band till it has broken

40 The Commission show that the bait of advances is not now operative to bring new men into the factory books, cases of fresh ad-

vances to new men being of very rare occurrence. Sons, succeeding to their fathers' property and debts, are said to conceive the impression that they are liable for their fathers' engagements, and so are persuaded to sow. The price allowed for an average crop of indigo not being in the vast majority of cases, enough to clear the advances, and the heavy charges for seed, stamps, &c. the debt increases constantly. The average produce is stated by planters to be 8 or 9 or 10 bundles a *bigha*. The average price fixed is shewn to be between 5 and 6 bundles for the rupee; the highest anywhere given being 4 bundles. But when there is a balance against the *raiyat*, as there is in the vast majority of cases, a small part only of the 2 rupees is really advanced, that is to say, is paid in cash; the remainder being merely transferred in account. The charges are from 4 annas to 8 annas a *bigha* for seed; 2 to 4 or 4 or even 8 annas for stamps, and in many cases 4 to 7 or even to 13 annas a *bigha* for carting. Of 33,00 indigo *raiyats* who cultivated for the Bengal Indigo Company's concerns in 1858-59, only 2,448 were shewn by Mr. Larmour to have received any payment for plant delivered, beyond the trifle of cash advanced. Many written engagements contain a clause that any balance shall be paid, not in money but in indigo, at the low rate fixed. These I gather are the lawful, or *quasi*-lawful, means of insisting on the *raiyats*, or families of *raiyats* who have once touched an advance, continuing to cultivate. But against so strong a motive of self interest as there is in the *raiyat's* mind for not cultivating indigo, lawful and *quasi* lawful means of inducement were necessarily of little power. Consequently contracts seem to a great extent to have fallen into desuetude, luckily for the *raiyats*, and other means in many cases have been exclusively relied upon. Babu Jai Chand Lal Chaudhri, a great *zamindar*, who is or was also a great indigo planter (having had 32 concerns in his estate and shares in 9 other concerns,) is asked, "if the *raiyats* have for the last [illegible]0 years been unwilling to sow indigo, how then have they gone on cultivating the plant up to the present time?" to this he answers, "by numerous acts of oppression and violence, by locking them up in godowns, burning their houses, beating them, &c." The whole of this gentleman's evidence is very [illegible] as [illegible] proceeding from a great *zamindar* and practical native indigo planter. [illegible] into becoming official language [illegible] the [illegible] of the Commission, and it is certainly the [illegible] the whole body of evidence.

41. The question of the [illegible] oppression and [illegible] lawful violence practised upon *raiyats* in relation to indigo [illegible] nature it has naturally attracted a greater degree of [illegible] than any other part of the whole [illegible] of the [illegible]

discussed, namely, the means taken to induce people to undertake the cultivation of what to them is a very unprofitable crop

42 The Commission report that comparatively few cases of actual destruction of human life have been brought to their knowledge, as proved, of late years, that premeditated affrays with hired clubmen are rare in some districts, and in others unknown, that there is no proved instance of the burning of bazars and houses, though one planter, whose high character entitles him to great respect, "has known of such acts", that the demolition of houses, either by the direct or indirect order of the planter, does, the Commission fear, occasionally occur, that the practice of imprisoning people in the factory or its out-offices is of common occurrence, that the seizure of cattle, though the cases are not so numerous, is also spoken of as a common occurrence, and that the Commissioners are afraid that in some instances date-gardens and plants are up-rooted to make room for indigo Of outrages to women, the Commission most fully, and most justly, acquit all planters It is much to be regretted that any charge so gross and so unfounded was ever made in any quarter, for it is neither true, nor has it any likelihood of truth in it

43 The Commissioners lay most stress on the proved and undeniable prevalence of seizing cattle, and more especially of kidnapping The last crime they reprobate in strong, but not too strong language A country where both these offences are committed habitually, and for the most part with impunity, is a country in which the law affords the weak no protection The fact is a disgrace to the Administration It is not simple confinement in one go-down that is practised Respectable men are seized, and sent about from one factory to another, to escape discovery, and, as in Seetul Tarafdar's case, they are not always ever heard of again I trust that late measures will have had some appreciable effect in preventing the impunity of such offences, and very earnestly I hope that un-official Englishmen in India will take to heart the exhortation contained in the 105th paragraph of the Commission's Report

44 The Report treats more lightly than I should myself have been disposed to do the list of 49 heinous cases given in by Mr Eden, as taken chiefly from the records of the Supreme and *Sadar* Courts No one will have a complete idea of this part of the case, without perusing that very remarkable list which will be found in the Appendix Although there is one case of 30 years ago, and 7 of more than 10 years standing, no less than 41 of the cases mentioned occurred within the last 10 years, and 15 of them within the last 5 years

45 Of one of the causes of the most bitter complaints, namely, the

oppressions and extortions of the factory *amla* the Commissioners have taken the evidence of *raiyats* In some instances they consider this evidence to be exaggerated as to the number of rupees taken, or of trees cut down, in the cases specified. But they justly draw from the evident exasperation of the *raiyats* the conclusion that a strict enough hand has not been kept over the servants of all factories, and that in some instances their oppression has been considerable. The Commission has omitted to notice the case of the *gumashta* of the Ancoora factory in the Aurangabad sub-division, whose frightful oppressions were only the other day the cause of a very dangerous tumult Probably the omission was due to the fact that the case had been already printed, and laid before the public.

46. On the whole my conclusion on this point is, that setting aside individual cases having no connection or at least no necessary connection, with the indigo system that system is fairly chargeable with a very notable portion of those classes of offences, the peculiar prevalence of which in Bengal has been from the first a blot in our Administration. In my opinion it is rather the system than the planters individually who are to be blamed. It is to the unprofitableness of the cultivation of indigo, at the extremely inadequate price given for it under the system, necessitating either a forced cultivation or the abandonment of the manufacture from Bengal *raiyati* plant, that this and every other evil connected with indigo is attributable. An individual manufacturer could not live upon a fair and free system, surrounded on all sides by competitors who get their raw produce without paying nearly its full value. That a whole class did not spontaneously reform itself from within is not surprising The chief fault was in the defective and, I fear I must say the not impartial, administration of the law which allowed such a vicious state of things to exist, where our fellow countrymen were concerned; a state which very certainly would have been put down with a high hand if only native gentlemen had been concerned

47 On minor points, the Commission find that when the assistance of the police is required in disputes between *raiyat* and planter their venality must be to the present advantage of the richer party [illegible] the police have no concern with the bargains of planter and *raiyat* They find also, from the admissions of the planters themselves, and from the [illegible] that the charge so often [illegible] of [illegible] from [illegible] to the [illegible] countrymen and from a [illegible] falls completely to the ground; as [illegible] purpose [illegible] a charge

[illegible]

whenever examined by sensible men, could not but do On the contrary they find that Magistrates have not always been sufficiently alive to the position of the *raiyats* nor accorded to them a due share of protection and support They say "It is not too much to say that, had all Magistrates held the scales in equal balance, a cultivation of the character which we have clearly shown indigo to be would not have gone on for such a length of time" I am obliged to support the finding of the Commission on this point The Commission entirely exonerate the Missionaries of the charge of having taken upon themselves the character of political agitators; they show that these excellent men, circumstanced as they were, would have been inexcusable had they turned a deaf ear to the well founded complaints of the people in close and kindly intercourse with whom they were living, and some of whom belong to their own flocks, and the Commission find that the assertion that the refusal to sow indigo was owing to the preaching of the Missionaries is one which is "entirely without foundation of truth"

Missionaries have not caused the refusal to sow

48. I must not pass this last point, without respectfully expressing my admiration of the conduct of the Missionary body, throughout these trying events

Conduct of the Missionaries

49 The Commission conclude their findings by reporting that the discontent of the *raiyats* was not fostered by the *zamindars*, and that there is no foundation in the stories of emissaries from Calcutta going about the country encouraging *raiyats* to abandon indigo In short the Report concludes that the system broke down because it was hateful to those on whom it pressed

Conduct of the zamindars

Why the system broke down

50 I shall not attempt to follow the Commissioners in the excellent recommendations they make to planters, for the recovery and future management of the indigo manufacture in these districts I believe these recommendation to be for the common advantage of all concerned and I trust that the Committee of the Indigo Planters' Association will use their extensive and just influence in causing their observance But I conceive the whole matter to rest so completely upon the one question of the price of the plant that I do not think it necessary to say more on the point If indigo plant is to be grown, it must be grown to the satisfaction and profit of both producer and purchaser It is for the *raiyat* and for no one else to judge what he will take for his crop, and it is for the purchaser, and for no one else, to judge what price he will bid for it If the 2 cannot agree, it cannot be helped The indigo manufacturer must

Commissioners' recommendations to planters

All depends on the price, which the parties must settle

grow his own crop in that case, or the manufacture must be shifted to some other part of the country where, for want of any more remunerative crop, indigo can be grown to the profit of all parties. On this point I beg to record my complete agreement with the opinion of Mr A. Forbes a witness on the planters' side of the question, who, when asked his opinion as to what terms should be offered in future by the planters' to the *raiyats* answered "I beg to record my opinion that this is a question which must be left to be settled by the planter and the *raiyats* themselves. Any interference on the part of Government can only complicate the question, and should be confined to providing good Magistrates, good Judges, and good police, who shall see justice done to all, and leave no room for oppression on the one part, or fraud on the other

51 I hope, however for their own sake, that the planters will act in the spirit of the recommendations above alluded to and particularly that they will adopt the recommendations of Mr Temple and Mr Fergusson in their separate Minute, extracted on the margin I believe the remark there made upon cases in which, by virtue of still existing contracts, *raiyats* may be legally coerced to sow on the old terms, to be one of the utmost practical importance Coming from the experienced and intelligent man of business who so efficiently represented the general body of planters on the Committee a gentleman in whose great ability and candour all parties have the fullest reliance I strongly hope that the advice will be acted upon.

Concessions recommended.

* But we deem it right to declare our apprehension that, unless some important concessions are at once made by the planters to the *raiyats* in several districts, nothing short of actual force could induce the *raiyats* to sow In such cases, if an attempt were made by the planters to perpetuate by compulsion the present system, the *raiyats* would, in their present temper meet force by force and serious disturbances would result Or if in virtue of previous contracts the *raiyats* were even legally coerced to sow till content would rise that must seriously damage the interests of the planters In either case, we believe that judicious concession will be the best policy for the planter to adopt towards the *raiyat*

52. In the paragraph of their Report noted on the margin, the Commission speak of the economical importance of the Bengal indigo trade, and of the great political advantage of having a large body of European gentlemen scattered over the country Certainly the Commission do not in the least degree overrate the *importance of these things, and no one feels their* great importance more strongly than I do.

General importance of the indigo trade

53. As to the indigo trade of this Presidency however which is correctly valued at nearly £ [illegible] a year it must be borne in mind that it is not the whole or the chief part of this trade which the refusal of the *raiyats* in the indigo districts of Western Bengal to continue the cultivation has placed in jeopardy

[illegible]

54 A valuable table in the Report shows the quantity of indigo made in each district of Bengal, Bihar and the North Western Provinces, for the last 10 years, the aggregate of which, exported from the Port of Calcutta, constitutes the staple of the Bengal Presidency Taking the last of these years, 1858-59, as an example, the whole number of maunds made in the year, was 106,087, which were made in the following Provinces —

Relative value of the part which is in jeopardy

Province	Maunds.	Percentage of the whole crop
North West Provinces	21,643	20 $\frac{2}{5}$ths
* Bihar	32,699	30 $\frac{4}{5}$ths
Bengal	40,763	38 $\frac{2}{5}$ths
Native, of all parts	10,982	10 $\frac{2}{5}$ths
Total	1,06,087	

* Including Patna, Shahabad, Monghyr & Bhagulpur, as well as Chapra and Tirhut

Thus it appears that of the whole indigo trade, in maunds, very little more than 38 per cent is produced by the European planters in Bengal proper, where only any difficulty has arisen But considerable reductions must be made from even this quantity, for all indigo produced from *chars*, and for all indigo produced by *nij* cultivation everywhere in Bengal. The only districts in which any difficulty whatever has been reported are here noted, with the production of each in maunds —

	Maunds
Rajshahi	3,512
Malda	2,777
Murshidadad	4,912
Nadia (Krishnagar)	8,023
Jessore	8,635
Faridpur	1,488
Total	29,347

After deducting for *nij* cultivation, and such *char* cultivation as the *rayats* are satisfied with, it will probably be an excessive calculation to say that 20,000 maunds are in jeopardy, owing to the inadequate price offered to *rayats* in Bengal This is less than $\frac{1}{5}$th part of the whole indigo trade of the Bengal Presidency Madras makes nearly double this quantity of indigo*

Note —It appears that in 23 concerns in these districts the relative proportions of *nij* and *rayati*, as given in the Appendix No I compiled from returns furnished by planters themselves are as follows —

Nij 85,413 *bighas*, *rayati* 250,154 One quarter of the whole cultivation in these concerns is *nij*

*In 1859 — 2,531,726 lbs

Adding 34,000 maunds for Madras to the Bengal aggregate above given, the whole indigo trade of India will be seen to be about 140,000 maunds. Of this whole only about 14 per cent in quantity is in any jeopardy owing to the refusal which the Bengal *raiyats* have declared to continue this cultivation at existing rates. In value, a somewhat higher figure must be taken, because, though Tirhut indigo is improving yearly in quality and already runs Bengal indigo close, and the same improvement is going on in Madras indigo, the Nadia and Jessore indigo is still the finest in India.

55. I have not gone into this calculation with any intention of underrating the risk to which the indigo manufacturers of Nadia and Jessore and a few neighbouring districts, are exposed. Those manufacturers deserve sympathy for themselves personally as much as if indigo were made nowhere else in all India. But a large question is in hand, and in treating that large question we must be careful to take no narrow or partial view. I have still to discuss proposals for exceptional protective legislation and executive action and, for the proper discussion of these the national and comparative importance of that section of the trade for whose interests, exclusively such exceptional protective measures are proposed must neither be over rated nor under rated.

56. As to the local value of the manufacture to the districts in which it is conducted a point much insisted upon by many that must depend upon the return both to the producer of the raw material, and to the manufacturer together. If both make a profit, then the trade must be locally valuable. If neither makes a profit, then it must be locally valueless, or wasteful. But if one party as we find is the case, loses largely the question of local value depends upon whether his loss is or is not fully compensated by the extraordinary and exceptional gain of the other party. Now I do not know that indigo manufacture is so extraordinarily and exceptionally gainful anywhere as to compensate for a loss of 7 rupees upon every *bigha* of land producing the plant. I do not think it is. But I believe that, under a sound system, there is a still an untouched fund of profit available in the stoppage of that incalculable drain of money spent unproductively and much worse than unproductively upon [illegible] upon troops of extortionate servants and overseers, upon licentious clubmen, upon bribery of the police and upon law expenses, which would all be unnecessary if a price were paid which enlisted the producer's self-interest on the

Local value of the manufacture.

Answer 1693 Resid. [illegible]

"The enemy of the [illegible]

The enemy of the [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

Answer 1136 [illegible]

manufacturer's side, but which perhaps the best intentioned planter cannot avoid, whilst all his dealings are with exasperated antagonists, who, as the evidence has shown us, have no interest in the success of the business and abhor the very name of indigo

"But if my throat is cut I won't sow indigo"

Answer 1165, "I will die sooner than cultivate indigo"

Answer 1180, Jamir Mandal —"I would rather go to a country where the indigo plant is never seen or sown"

Answer 1216, Haji Mulla — "Rather than sow indigo I will go to another country, I would rather beg than sow indigo"

Answer 1249, Kabi Mandal "I would sow indigo for nobody, not even for my father and mother"

Answer 3214, Panju Mulla "No, I would be rather killed with bullets"

57 As to the advantage of having English gentlemen, with the loyalty, courage, energy, perseverance and skill which is their patrimony, scattered over the country, it is impossible, in general terms, to rate the political and social value of this too highly But it is only when these gentlemen are in relations of mutual benefit with the people of the country that their residence is of social or political advantage The very same reasons which, in the circumstances of India, make the residence of Europeans an especial source of strength and improvement, when it is, and is felt to be a benefit by their native neighbours, make it an especial source of weakness and corruption, when it is, and is felt to be, an evil by their native neighbours

Advantage of having European settlers

58. Mr F Gubbins (to whose conduct and knowledge of the people is greatly due the preservation of Benares in 1857) says of the indigo planters in the Benares Division—and says, I am sure, most justly—that "they are almost invariably a blessing to the surrounding country" Now there is nothing in the air of Benares to make a class of men blessings there, who would not with equal chances be blessings elsewhere It is that there the system is sounder, and the planter works with the *raiyat* instead of against him I desire earnestly to see European planters in Bengal "blessings to the surrounding country", and that is one great reason why I desire earnestly to see a sounder system of indigo manufacture established in Bengal

Benares planters a blessing to the country

Because the system is sounder

59 What an enterprising European can do, both for himself and

for the people, when he marries his interest to theirs, is shown in a conspicuous manner by the evidence of Mr Morrell. In 10 years Mr Morrell has cleared 60,000 or 65,000 *bighas* (upwards of 20,000 acres) of Sundarbans jungle. He has granted his cleared land under permanent *pallas* at a rent of 1 rupee 2 annas a *bigha*, never liable to enhancement; he gets as many *raiyats* as he wishes, but they repudiate the system of advances, fearing that "eventually they may have to take to *nil* or indigo" though they know of indigo only from common report. Mr Morrell told me that the building of a good two-storied brick house on his grant was one of the most fortunate things he did, because it assured the *palladars* and *raiyats* that he would stay amongst them and it will be seen in his evidence that the same people who were so anxious to keep him near them, on one occasion, when his gardener had sown in his garden some indigo seed that had been sent from Calcutta in a packet of seeds by mistake, on the plant growing up, "insisted upon having it pulled up and thrown away" Mr Morrell has in 10 years created for himself an estate which cannot now be worth less than from £80,000 to £100,000 and, in doing so, he has covered what were 20,000 acres of uninhabited jungle with a happy and thriving population, anxious to keep him near them This he has accomplished by working on sound principles, to the profit of the people instead of to their loss. In striking contrast to the indigo planters remonstrance mentioned above in paragraph 21 of this paper when I had the pleasure of seeing him a few months ago, his only request was that a subdivision might be established with its head-quarters at his residence of Morrellganj.

Instance of European enterprise on a sound system in Bengal.

60. When Indian officers, whose first duty is the improvement of India, cease to admire and encourage English residents who work upon the sound system which produces such results as this, it will be just to accuse them of prejudice against their own fellow-countrymen. But it is not just or reasonable to accuse them of such prejudice because they wish all their countrymen to work on a system that tends to such results, and disapprove of an unsound system, which produces contrary results

A sound system the best return.

61 I now come to the last great head of the Report the discussion of the several recommendations that have been made for legislative or executive action in relation to indigo planting in Bengal

Proposed changes [illegible]

62 Before remarking upon the recommendations [illegible] it will be well to look back, in order to ascertain what are exactly the [illegible] evils requiring to be [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] we have a clear [illegible]

What are the [illegible] to be remedied.

requires to be remedied If we have but a confused, incorrect, and inadequate notion of the real evils, our remedies will be useless and perhaps hurtful

63 There is nothing in the evidence to prove that before this year planters experienced any material difficulty in getting *raiyats* to sow in indigo the quantity of land required of them, for which cash advances were actually taken, whether such requisition was supported by a contract, as the planter would generally hold, or was the mere command of the planter, as the *raiyat* would often hold There are no longer now complaints that *raiyats* take advances for indigo from one planter and sell the produce to another, nor is it the staple of the complaints made before this year, that the *raiyats* took advances for indigo and cultivated on their own account something else instead There are general charges that *raiyats* are of a fraudulent and evasive disposition, but I have seen in the whole evidence no specific charge of the above nature, in a single instance, before this year

Planters complaints

64 There are, however, on the part of the planters, loud complaints of the carelessness of the *raiyat*, after taking advances, in regard to his indigo crop, of his inattention to it, and of his indifference to whether it is eaten down by cattle, or choked up by weeds, or goes into the planter's vat, notwithstanding the daily urging of the planter's servants. I cannot doubt that this is a true complaint

65 And there are complaints that *raiyats* sometimes cannot be got to engage for indigo because of the machinations of third parties But of this I find no proof, and I see no reason to think the complaint well founded, because no motive needs to be looked for, when a *raiyat* refuses, beyond his own self-interest I find no other complaints on the part of the planters

66 On the part of the *raiyats* the complaints are that, by oppression and acts of unlawful violence in themselves very harassing, they are compelled to engage to cultivate indigo, or to cultivate it without engagement, for the planter, at a nominal price, which even if fully paid would be ruinously unprofitable The fact of frequent acts of unlawful violence and oppression is fully proved, and the motive is manifest, also the extreme inadequacy of the price paid by the planter, and the unwillingness with which indigo is cultivated by the *raiyat*, are fully proved

Raiyats' complaints

67 Also the *raiyats* complain that the deductions from the nominal price are so heavy, the unfairness of weighing so great, the extortions of the factory *amla* so excessive, that the nominal price dwindles to little or nothing, so that if they realise from the whole produce of their

indigo land, in cash, what pays the rent of the land, they are lucky wherefore they lose the whole value of that land to themselves besides all the cost of cultivating it for the planter And this appears to me, from a careful examination of the evidence, to be about the true state of the case, as a question of profit and loss to the *raiyat*

68. It is also made matter of complaint, though I think more by the friends of the *raiyat* than by the *raiyats* themselves, that the *raiyat* is constrained to cultivate indigo by reason of the debt claimed from him by the factory on account of the balance of account being against 9 *raiyats* out of 10 always

69. On the part of the Magistrate, it is fully proved that the peace of the country is constantly broken by disputes about indigo, to so great an extent as to be a discredit to our Administration.

Breaches of the peace.

70. Complaints relating to the events of this year being quite exceptional, and having been exceptionally met by temporary legislation, need not be now regarded. The *raiyats* in certain districts, after the season of advances had passed and after the mass had taken advances, showed a disposition to refuse in mass to cultivate. But now, their refusal to contract new engagements, or to take advances on the old terms, or on any terms yet offered cannot be made, in form, matter of reasonable complaint by any one although doubtless it is this legitimate refusal on the *raiyat's* part that constitutes the present difficulty of the planter It is quite natural that those who are under the pressure of this difficulty should decry any course which will not get them over it. But as the *raiyat* is not a slave and cannot be made a slave and as his right in his own land is indefeasible; however much every one must sympathise with the planter suddenly involved in this difficulty every disinterested person must see that the *raiyat* must be left in practice, as he is left now by law free to do what he thinks best with his own land.

Complaints of this year exceptional.

71 Now looking at all these complaints, I do not see one that requires special legislation in favour of one side or of the other The law is now perfectly equal and fair for both and that is what it ought to be I see no h[illegible] wrong that would not be remedied by adequate executive action, whereby the protection of the law should in matter of fact, be properly and equally extended to both parties, which practically until now it has not been. It is not the law neither is it the administration of the law that is responsible for the complaints of the [illegible] When a man is hopeless[illegible] in debt to a factory; when such a p[illegible] the produce of his land as does not at the most pay him [illegible]

Special legislation not required to meet these [illegible].

rent of it, and often not so much, and when, generally speaking, the whole of the trifle of cash he ever touches at all is given him in the form of an advance, with what degree of reason can it be expected that he will bestow his labour upon that produce with the same interest as he bestows it upon produce the real profit and loss upon which is his own?

72 If this subject of complaint can be removed at all, it can only be removed by the adoption by the planter of a sound system of traffic for the plant, that is to say, by paying for it a price which will afford the *raiyat* as good a return as another crop would afford him, and by not paying the whole of that price in the way of advance This would engage the *raiyat*, by his own self-interest, to bestow as much care upon the crop as he now bestows on his rice and other crops, the profit of which is his If, at the present price of the dye, the manufacturer cannot afford to give such a price for the plant, there really is nothing for it but to abandon the attempt to force indigo upon land of the quality in question To continue the attempt in that case is to waste the resources of the country and to fight against nature, a battle the issue of which, notwithstanding any number of special and onesided laws, in the end is never doubtful

73 I perceive that the British Indian Association have come to the conclusion, from the evidence taken by the Commission, that indigo cannot be profitably cultivated in the neighbouring districts, because it is shown that the value of the manufactured dye made from the average produce of a *bigha* does not exceed 10 rupees, whilst the value of the raw produce in other crops would be about as much. This is a practical question Early rice is the crop with which indigo can be most fairly compared The average value of a *bigha* of early rice in Nadia is stated to be Rs 8 As 10 In Jessore the average is taken much higher, viz Rs 14 But, having reference to the oral evidence on the same subject, I take the average above given for Nadia to be a very fair average, at present prices I believe the mere manufacturing charges for 2 seers, or 10 rupees worth, of indigo are taken at one rupee 8 annas, so that this calculation would leave less than nothing for all the general charges of the factory But I do not think it follows that the present average produce, which is less than 10 bundles of indigo, would not be materially increased if the crop were grown by the cultivator who had some real interest in the out-turn This question, however, if it is to be solved, must be left to nature, and to the skill of the persons interested Laws can do nothing in such a matter, but leave the trade free

74 As to the complaints of the *raiyats*, it is obvious that the practical and effectual protection of the law for person, property and rights, with absolute freedom of trade, is all that is required to remove the

grounds of them And the same may be said of the Magistrate's complaint, which is the consequence only of the inadequate protection he has been able, until lately practically to afford to the people.

75 The complaint on the ground of the hold given by the debt of the *raiyat* to the factory remains. These debts in the mass are admitted to be bad debts. They are bought with a factory as giving a hold upon the *raiyats* with no reference to their nominal amount. But wherever a *raiyat* really does owe money to a planter he ought to pay it, and he ought to be made to pay it. If the planter's claim is good, he will certainly get a decree in the Civil Courts and as the *raiyat* has been shown by events this year in Nadia and Jessore to be generally solvent, the planter will thereby obtain full payment. There is only one conceivable reason that can keep a planter from so claiming a real debt which is that he will thereby get payment in money of standard value and not in Indigo plant at his own price, which seems to be not one third of its cost. But all that justice requires is payment in cash

76. On the whole, I conclude that all reasonable ground for any special legislation, or special executive action in connection with indigo in Bengal proper is knocked away by the inquiry of the Commission The production of Bengal proper we have seen is 40,763 maunds of this dye; the production of Madras is 34,000 maunds. There is no special law for indigo in Madras. Yet the official papers, a copy of which for facility of reference is appended to this Minute show that there are no complaints or difficulties in the business there The *raiyats* "have no dislike to its culture contracts for the supply of the plant are readily and voluntarily entered into, its cultivation being profitable "indigo contracts are not found to be productive of more litigation, disputes, or disturbances, than contracts of any other description differences about indigo "are adjusted, like other ordinary disputes, without recourse to measures unsanctioned by the laws*

A small section only of the trade ask for any special law

Why should Bengal require a special law when the general law works so well in Madras? So the North Western Provinces produce [illegible] maunds of indigo without complaint or disturbance and also with no special law. Behar under the very same local Government, and the very same law as Bengal proper produces [illegible] maunds of indigo with

* I may observe that the Madras Board of Revenue make the common mistake of supposing that the Bengal *zamindari* tenure affects the [illegible] position of the *raiyat*. A Madras *raiyat* [illegible] there [illegible] between the [illegible] In Bengal, there is [illegible]

no demand for a special law in favor of any party.

77. My conclusion therefore is that whereas in the great majority of cases special legislation is bad, and in all cases one-sided legislation is bad, in this [illegible] such legislation would be quite indefensible because devoid of every plausible ground in fact.

78. The next [illegible] of [illegible] discussed in the Report is the [illegible] to planters with magisterial powers as Honorary Magistrates. In a paper which is already before His Excellency the Governor General in Council I have recorded my opinion on the general [illegible] of Honorary Magistrates. I object to any Honorary Magistrate having any thing to do with the police, and I object to any Magistrate, Honorary or Stipendiary, trying cases judicially in which he is directly or indirectly interested, or which from private reasons he cannot try without risk of private injury to himself. But under the above conditions, which I consider to be of universal application, I approve of the system of Honorary Magistrates. Wherever the indigo system is sound, I would make no distinction between indigo planting and any other business, in this respect. Therefore, though I go a part of the way, I do not go the whole way with the Commission on this point.

Multiplication of subdivisions.

79. The next point is the multiplication of subdivisions. This subject, on which I quite agree with the Commission, has already had my best attention. The arrangement is explained in detail in a Resolution of the Bengal Government dated the 7th November 1860.

The Nadia Division in which the chief indigo districts are, has been, I believe, most satisfactorily arranged into sub-divisions, and the other Divisions will be taken up one by one in the same way.

Police.

80. The next point is the reform of the police. The police has somewhat improved, and, I believe, is improving, though slowly. If the Madras system can be applied to Bengal, it will be applied, and whatever can be done to improve the police will be done. The subject is too large to enter upon here in detail.

Civil Courts.

81. The next point is the improvement of the Civil Courts. The new Civil Code, as was to have been expected from the remarkable qualifications for such a work which the learned and experienced gentlemen who prepared it possess, is admirable, and is working excellently well. All the complaints of the action of the Civil Courts are made in reference only to the Code which

Munsifs, and 6 Magisterial Courts. In all indigo cases, this scheme would substitute for those 13 or 16 authorities, scattered equally over the district 1 or 2 authorities in each district who would be 50 miles away from the majority of suitors. The harassment to suitors and witnesses would be intolerable. And to set against so much that is disadvantageous, I can see absolutely nothing in the shape of an advantage for the 1 or 2 special indigo officers would in no way be better than 1 or of the regular district officers Moreover all special Courts for particular classes of cases, from English Star Chambers to Indian resumption Courts, become always hateful, and generally deservedly so.

88. Surely the object is with a limited number of officers available in a district of nearly a million of inhabitants to make the most of them by spreading them equally over the whole surface The supporters of the scheme most justly say that "the necessity of a reference on the spot is one of the few points on which both parties agree But this is the very reason why I object to passing over the sub divisional officer and Munsif on the spot or at most 1 ½ miles off in order to go to a special officer 50 miles off. If I am to be allowed 1 2 or more additional officers in a district, I hope that they may be so used by multiplying sub-divisions, as to bring justice and protection nearer home to the people and not so used by neutralising even existing sub-divisions as to send justice and protection, in one of the most important classes of cases, very much further away from home than they now are

is to allay irritation, and to endeavour to make both act reasonably, temperately, and fairly The Commissioner of the Division, who has all the district executive officers under him, and who has not judicial functions, civil or criminal, seems to me the *official* person most likely to meet with success in this work of mediation I have already issued such instructions to the Divisional Commissioners as will have the required effect, as far as these officers are capable of producing it The Commissioners of Nadia and Rajshahi are now on tour, with this special object, amongst others, in view Nothing however, can be done unless the planter will recognize the legal and actual position of the *raiyat*, and unless, even where the law is on his side, he will act upon the advice of the planters' most able and judicious representative in the Commission, by making such reasonable and equitable concessions as will avoid a contest "that must seriously damage the interests of the planters" It should be seen, that to attempt to conduct commercial transactions profitably, in the midst of a hostile and intensely exasperated population, is mere foolishness, when the law is also against one, and is a very hopeless adventure even when it is on one's side I trust, therefore, that the Committee of the Indigo Planters' Association will support this good advice, with all their influence

90 The majority of the Commission are opposed to both the recommendations last discussed, and I agree in their arguments

91. The last point is the enactment of a law for the registration of indigo contracts, in such a special manner as to remove all doubt of the reality of the engagement, which however should not make unregistered contracts invalid. The minority of the Commission propose such a law, but the majority do not recommend it I have submitted to the Governor-General in Council my opinion on this point I think the information before us shows the necessity of going the length of invalidating all contracts for the delivery of agricultural produce not registered in accordance with a special registration law such as is above described The practices of charging the *raiyat* for a stamp without using any stamped paper at all, and of taking the marks and signatures of *raiyats* to blank papers, seem to me to require the check of registration, and, more especially, the frightful length to which late reports from Mr Bell and Mr Herschel, corroborated by the result of the Nadia cases, show that factory *amla* are ready to go in forgery and perjury, proves to me the necessity of protecting the *raiyat* by a thoroughly good system of registration It is to these factory *amla* that the whole work of taking engagements in writing is avowedly left It is necessary, in my opinion, that the registration should be so conducted, that the identity of the person signing the engagement with the person

Registration of indigo contracts

named in the document should be ascertained, and capable of being proved at any time and that the fact that both parties fully understand all the conditions of the deed should be ascertained, and recorded by a disinterested officer The great length of some forms of bond adopted, and the generally illiterate character of the poorer of the 2 parties, make this last provision in my opinion very desirable. From such a system of registration both parties will derive great advantage and much unsatisfactory litigation will be prevented.

Minor points in Minute of Messrs. Temple and Fergusson.

92. The separate Minute, signed by Mr Temple and Mr Fergusson, treats of some points not noticed in the Report. These 2 gentlemen remark that district Magistrates have ample power to investigate and prosecute British subjects in the *mofussal* and that they ought to exercise that power This is true, though the trial (except in cases of simple assault punishable by a fine of Rs. 500) under the present law can only be at the Presidency In grave cases, I trust that this duty is never neglected. But the expense both to the public and to private persons of a prosecution at the Presidency for an offence committed at a distance, is very heavy and the inconvenience and loss to prosecutors and witnesses are so great, that such prosecutions are a misfortune to the neighbourhood, in which the person injured is the most certain sufferer It is not in the nature of things that these considerations should not operate to a certain extent as an exemption from amenability to all criminal law in minor matters. These 2 same members recommend the general disarming of all natives in Bengal, but without taking away clubs. The long heavy iron bound club in use is a formidable *lethal* weapon and a disarming in Bengal, which should not touch the most common *lethal* weapon used in affrays, would be operative I fear only for harm. It would disarm the peaceable man, and allow the professional bravo of the country to carry his own peculiar arms. I would rather reverse the operation I do not see in the evidence anything to show that the mass of the people in Bengal a quiet and well behaved race should be disarmed I should like to see them much more ready and more stout in self defence than they are But I would disarm and punish the hired clubmen, and I would punish all who employ them without exception of class I trust that a provision in the Penal Code introduced by the Bengal Member of the Legislative Council, in consequence of a suggestion from me will have the effect of enabling the Magistrate to cut at the root of affrays, by imposing some responsibility on those in whose interest they are committed as recommended by those 2 Members of the Commission.

Prosecution of British subjects.

[illegible]

93 The body of the Report is signed by 4 Members The fifth, Mr Fergusson, the able representative of the planting interest in the Commission, has not signed it, and has put in a separate Minute, explaining his reasons I understand that his dissent, in the main, is to the tone of the Report, which in his opinion leads to the inference that planters, as a body, are lawless The inference I myself draw from the Report is, that the planters as a body, and naturally, are like any other class of our fellow-countrymen , but that, being within the meshes of a false system, in all that concerns that system, they cannot but act as the system constrains them Like all such bodies they comprise men of all temperaments, but it is and has ever been my conviction that there are in this body many as good men as any in India , and I see nothing in the Report to the contrary Mr Fergusson objects to certain views in the Report, as tending to disturb the acknowledged principles of the Permanent Settlement, and to give *raiyats* notions of their rights incompatible with that contract between Government and the *zamindar* I conceive that there is here some of that misapprehension of the nature of the Permanent Settlement which is very common That measure in no respect differs from any other Indian revenue settlement, except in being permanent, instead of for a term of years It is only a settlement of the Government demand of revenue It in no way touches any rights, interests, or tenures of land, all which it leaves as it found them It is truly described as a contract between Government and the *zamindar* , and therefore necessarily it could not affect third parties, whose rights, titles, and interests, indeed, it acknowledges especially, and excepts in terms Mr Fergusson freely admits that the recent crisis must sooner or later have occurred, because planters did not raise their prices as other prices rose He comes thus, I think, in effect, to the same practical conclusion that the majority of the Commission and I myself come to, namely, that the root of the whole question is the struggle to make *raiyats* grow indigo plant, without paying them the price of it

Mr Fergusson's Minute

94 My high opinion of the manner in which the Commission have conducted their inquiries, and reported to Government their conclusions, upon this extensive and long controverted subject, has been expressed to the gentlemen who composed it, in a separate letter At a moment of passionate excitement, the careful impartiality with which they conducted their inquiries was admitted on all sides And though every one will form his own judgment as to their conclusions and recommendations, the cautious, temperate and kindly manner in which they have framed their Report, will, I am sure, be cordially knowledged by every one"

Conclusion

CHAPTER III

SIR CECIL BEADON, K.C.S.I.

1862—67

LIKE his two predecessors Sir Cecil Beadon stood out prominently before all others as the officer designate *omnium consensu* for the Lieutenant Governorship whenever a vacancy should occur in that office. He had held all the qualifying appointments, his record was unblemished, he was in the prime of life. He was born in 1816, the youngest son of Richard Beadon, Esqre., and grandson of the Right Reverend Richard Beadon, D.D., Bishop of Bath and Wells. His mother was a sister of the first Lord Heytesbury. He was educated at Eton and at Haileybury, and at the age of 18 was presented with an appointment to the Bengal Civil Service which had been placed by the Court of Directors at the disposal of Lord Heytesbury upon his nomination to the post of Governor General of India—a nomination which was shortly afterwards cancelled on the return of the Whig Government to office.

Previous appointment

He arrived in India on the 31st December 1836, and held the following appointments in the earlier years of his service: July 1837, Assistant Patna Division; from August 1837 at Saran; September 1838, Superintendent of *khas mahals*; March 1839, Joint Magistrate and Deputy Collector of Champaran; from August to October 1839, Joint Magistrate and Deputy Collector of Saran, Bihar, Patna and Bhagalpur successively; January 1842, Magistrate and Collector of Bhagalpur; then Magistrate of Murshidabad. In 1843 he was appointed Under Secretary to the Government of Bengal. He was Secretary to the Board of Revenue in 1847 and was selected in 1850 by Lord Dalhousie to represent Bengal on a Commission of inquiry into the Indian Postal System. This inquiry resulted in the establishment of a uniform postage in India analogous to the English penny postage. He was also Secretary to the Government of Bengal 1852, Secretary to the Government of India in the Home Department 1854, Foreign Secretary 1859, Member of the Council of the Governor General 1860, and became Lieutenant Governor of Bengal in 1862. The [illegible] of Sir C



Photogravure

Survey of India Offices Calcutta December 1900

SIR CECIL BEADON K C S I

From a photograph by Messrs Johnston & Hoffmann

Beadon's career in the Dictionary of National Biography, which will serve as an introduction to the rest of this Chapter

"Beadon's career was eminently successful up to the last 5 years of his service Three successive Governors-General, Lord Hardinge, Lord Dalhousie and Lord Canning, entertained the highest opinion of his judgment and ability In 1847 Lord Hardinge spoke of his appointment as Secretary to the Board of Salt, Customs, and Opium, which was deemed an improper supersession by his seniors, as "highly advantageous to the interests of the public service" With Lord Dalhousie Beadon carried on a confidential and unreserved correspondence, which was continued throughout his government, and ended only with his death It was often said in India at that time that Beadon was the only man in the country who had any influence over Lord Dalhousie, and there can be no question that in all matters relating to the internal administration of the country Lord Dalhousie placed the greatest reliance upon Beadon's judgment Lord Canning promoted Beadon to the post of Foreign Secretary, and afterwards recommended him for the Lieutenant-Governorship of Bengal

Brief sketch of Lieutenant-Governorship

"During the greater part of the mutiny Beadon was Home Secretary, and naturally shared much of the unpopularity with which his Chief, and the Government generally, were regarded by certain classes of the English community in Calcutta at that excited time. It was groundlessly alleged that Beadon under-estimated the gravity of the crisis After having conducted the duties of Foreign Secretary for several years with marked ability, and served for a time in the Supreme Council, Beadon was placed in charge of the Government of Bengal with general approval An article which appeared a little before that time in the leading Calcutta newspaper full of hostile criticism, not only of Beadon, but of the Indian Civil Service generally, highly praised Beadon's honesty and resolution, but predicted for him much unpopularity

"This prediction was fully verified The stars in their courses appear to have fought against the new Lieutenant-Governor almost from the commencement Measures, unquestionably wise, taken by him after a careful personal inspection of the province of Assam, in order to improve the condition of the important tea-planting industry there established, were followed by an unexampled depres-

and secondly in 1860 to Agnes daughter of Mr W H Sterndale He left several children.

In his Minute of the 2nd July 1859 on the services of officers in the mutiny Lord Canning had thus written of Sir C Beadon as Home Secretary — The labour of the Secretary of the Home Department Mr Cecil Beadon has been rendered unusually heavy and anxious from the very commencement of the mutinies much work connected with transport by land and water and with the despatch of the naval brigades, beginning with that under the late Sir W Peel was thrown upon his department and the efficiency with which it was done although for the most part of a very novel nature has been most creditable to him I desire to record my very high appreciation of the value of Mr Beadon s services

Sir C Beadon s accession to the Lieutenant Governorship was welcomed by the leading native newspaper of the day which wrote — That Mr Beadon s past training and the eminent ability which he has

Welcomed by native journal

displayed in various capacities eminently qualify him to rule Bengal will we think be disputed by none In one point we believe he has an advantage over his predecessor Sir John Peter Grant was a closet thinker he had seen little of the people or of the country Although Mr Beadon has likewise neither seen much of the interior he still knows Calcutta well and for many years the man who will know Calcutta thoroughly will also know the country well Ea y of acce s and amiable to a degree Mr Beadon is very popular as a member of society His free intercourse with both Europeans and natives ha made him fully acquainted with the workings of the society of both classes There i [illegible] a man of mark or influence among them whom he does not know there is not a section of them with whose peculiar opinions and feelings he is not acquainted there is not a ubject regarding which if he chooses, he cannot obtain the most accurate reports of the opini n of the different classes of the community Thi we confess is no rare advantage for a ruler of Bengal and we hope Mr Bea l n w ll turn it to good account

Like Lord Elgin Mr Beadon enters office und r peculiarly happy auspices the indigo question all but solved judicial and police reform in full swing public works in rapid strid s of impr vem t

and a fair share of financial justice secured to Bengal. Under such circumstances we confidently hope his reign will prove one of unprecedented success."

Subordinate Judicial Service

Sir C Beadon assumed charge of the Lieutenant-Governorship on the 23rd April 1862 His Private Secretary was at first Lt-Col H R James, and subsequently Lt-Col H Raban During the rains he made a long tour to Assam, going up to Sibsagar, Sylhet and Cachar he spent February 1863 in Bihar His first years of office were years of normal progress: the various measures of administration which came before his Government will be duly mentioned. For instance, the question of reorganising the Subordinate Judicial Service was taken into consideration. The expediency of revising the salaries of the native Judges and of readjusting them on a scale more commensurate with the importance and responsibility of their duties, and of the position which they ought to hold in society, had been fully admitted on several previous occasions, but the state of the finances had prevented anything being done, as every scheme of improvement necessarily involved a considerable increase of expenditure While however nothing had been done to improve the position and status of the native Bench, the qualifications both of the native Judges and the native Bar had been subjected to much severer tests than had previously been required The claims of the Subordinate Judicial Service were thus still further strengthened and it became imperative on the Government to deal with the question Sir C Beadon considered that, fully to meet the requirements of the case, no mere slight increase in the scale of salaries was necessary He believed that a reform was wanted which would raise the character and standard of the Judicial Service generally by enabling Government to recruit its ranks from a higher stratum of native society, and which would at the same time have the effect of qualifying the native Judges for a seat on the bench of the highest Court in the country. To effect such a reform he proposed a scheme the object of which briefly was to amalgamate the whole native Judicial Service and redivide it into 3 classes, with distinct powers and salaries graduated in each class, and from class to class, from Rs 200 up to Rs 1,500 monthly, abolishing the native designation and substituting the more intelligible nomenclature of Subordinate Judges of the 1st,

2nd and 3rd class The cost of the service, as constituted amounted to Rs. 7 18 200· the cost of it, as proposed to be constituted amounted to Rs. 11 28 000 *per annum* The proposal was submitted to the Government of India. As there was likely to be some delay in disposing of the general question Sir Cecil Beadon subsequently requested that that portion of it which provided that no judicial officer should receive a lower salary than Rs. 200 should at once be sanctioned After the close of 1862 3 the Government of India gave partial effect to this recommendation, by raising the salaries of the Munsifs to Rs 200 and 150 in the 1st and 2nd classes respectively The Secretary of State eventually sanctioned a general increase of pay to the uncovenanted Judges of the Civil Courts in Bengal the Principal *Sadar Amins* were divided into 2 grades with pay at Rs 800/ and Rs 600/ and the *Sadar Amins* and Munsifs into 3 grades at Rs. 400/ 300/ and 250/ By a subsequent Act XVI of 1868 the office of *Sadar Amin* was abolished and the new nomenclature of Subordinate Judge" adopted In 1862 Government had occasion to appoint a Principal *Sadar Amin* and a Small Cause Court Judge to be additional Judges temporarily under the Statute 24 and 25 Vic. c 64 in the absence of qualified Civilians

High Court established.

On the 6th August 1861 a Statute was passed (24 and 25 Vic. c. 104) empowering the Crown to establish by Letters Patent a High Court at Calcutta. The Supreme Court (established by the Regulating Act 1773) and the *Sadar* Courts established by Warren Hastings viz the *Sadar Dewani Adalat* or principal court of civil justice and the *Sadar Nizamat Adalat* or appellate court of criminal jurisdiction were at the same time abolished The High Court exercises the powers and authorities of the abolished courts i e jurisdiction original and appellate civil and criminal admiralty testamentary and intestate insolvent and matrimonial Its ordinary original jurisdiction is confined to the Presidency town thus preserving a distinction which dates from the Charter of 1726 By its extraordinary original jurisdiction and its appellate jurisdiction it controls all the other Courts of Justice both civil and criminal within the limits defined by the Letters Patent, which issued on 14th May 1862 the Calcutta High Court commenced to sit on 1st July 1862 The first Chief Justice and 12 Puisne Judges were named in the Letters Patent On the [illegible]

December 1865 fresh Letters Patent issued, and further provision was made respecting the jurisdiction of the High Court. The High Court consists of a Chief Justice and as many Judges not exceeding 15 as Her Majesty may think fit to appoint A list of the Chief Justices and Puisne Judges of the old Supreme Court and *Sadar* Court since 1854, and of the High Court since its establishment, will be found in an Appendix The foundations of the High Court building, between Government House and Chandpal *ghat*, were commenced in March 1864, and its completion was expected to take 4 years, it was occupied by the Court in May 1872

Calcutta Municipality

The Bill "*for appointing Municipal Commissioners for the town of Calcutta and for levying rates and taxes in that town*" was read in Council and referred to a Select Committee on the 3rd May 1862 A curious and unlooked for result ensued. On the 3rd January 1863 the Select Committee recommended the withdrawal of the Bill, (and of a concomitant Bill for the conservancy and improvement of the town) being agreed that not only would the scheme proposed be utterly impracticable and unsatisfactory but that it would be almost impossible to provide fit machinery to carry it out Sir A Eden (then Secretary) thereupon brought in a totally different measure Its general principle was "to vest in the Justices of Calcutta, as representatives of the ratepayers, a general control over the government of the town, leaving the executive administration in the hands of a single officer responsible to the Justices Under such an arrangement, if it should turn out that any work was not carried on in a proper manner, there would be no difficulty in fixing the responsibility, and any evil or error could very soon be rectified It was clear that all responsibility which was divided must be unreal and impossible to enforce" Accordingly, after the usual stages and discussion in the Legislative Council, the Calcutta Municipality was remodelled by Act VI (B C) of 1863, in supersession of the Acts XIV, XXV, and XXVIII of 1856 The new law vested the municipal Government of the town in a Corporation consisting of all the Justices of the Peace for Bengal, Bihar, and Orissa, and all the Justices of the Peace for the Town, with a salaried Chairman to be appointed by Government All executive authority was vested in the Chairman, but the Justices (all of them appointed by the Lieutenant-Governor, and many of them natives),

received a large measure of financial control, both in regard to taxation and administration. The funds to be raised by the Corporation by municipal rates and taxes were to be administered under a system of account and audit annual Budget estimates of income and expenditure were to be submitted to the Justices by the Chairman The Corporation (with the sanction of Government) was empowered to carry out a system of drainage and of water-supply and to construct wharves upon the banks of any river or canal within the town on any such property becoming vested in them For works of permanent utility the Corporation (with the sanction of Government) was authorised to raise money by debentures on the security of the rates Provisions for conservancy &c. were included. The measure was regarded as the first important step towards Self Government in local administration in Bengal. The Justices who represented all classes of the community indicated a cordial desire to co-operate with Government in giving effect to the Act. In anticipation it may be mentioned that in course of time, out of about 129 qualified persons, only about 25 took an active part in municipal affairs. Subsequently the British Indian Association complained that the number of native Justices was only [illegible] of the number of working European Justices Practically the native Justices formed about [illegible] of those present at the meetings as many of the European Justices were always absent and could not attend As a grievance was felt it was enacted by an amending law that the resident Justices for Bengal Bihar and Orissa should no longer be *ex-officio* members of the Municipal Corporation but that only such of them as might be from time to time specially nominated by the Lieutenant Governor should be members

Insanitary State of the Town.

The insanitary state of Calcutta attracted attention in other quarters soon after the passing of the Act of 1863 On the 6th March 1864 Mr (afterwards Sir) John Strachey wrote thus as President of the Sanitary Commission for Bengal —

"For many years past the sanitary condition of Calcutta has been a constant subject of complaint [illegible] condition [illegible] present [illegible] been much worse than it is at the present time — The state [illegible] of the southern division of the town, which contains the [illegible] houses of [illegible] principal European [illegible] [illegible]

while with regard to the northern or native division of Calcutta, which contains some hundred thousand people, it is no figure of speech, but the simple truth, to say that no language can adequately describe its abominations In the filthiest quarters of the filthiest towns that I have seen in other parts of India, or in other countries, I have never seen any thing which can be for a moment compared with the filthiness of Calcutta This is true, not merely of the inferior portions of the town, or of the bye-ways and places inhabited by the poorer classes, but it is true of the principal thoroughfares and of the quarters filled with the houses of the richest and most influential portion of the native community If a plain unvarnished description of the streets of the northern division of Calcutta, bordered by their horrible open drains, in which almost all the filth of the city stagnates and putrifies, were given to the people of England, I believe that they would consider the account altogether incredible

"The condition of the river upon the banks of which Calcutta stands is as abominable as that of the city itself I need only mention one fact regarding it More than 5,000 human corpses have been every year thrown from Calcutta into the river which supplies the greater part of the inhabitants with water for all domestic purposes, and which for several miles is covered with shipping as thickly as almost any river in the world Fifteen hundred corpses have actually been thrown into the river in one year from the Government hospitals alone That such things should be true seems really to be hardly credible

"I am aware that measures have now been taken by the Government of Bengal for putting a stop to this shameful practice, but they have only been taken during the last few days, and I have referred to it here because it serves as a good index to the state of things which has hitherto existed Of the many other ways in which the water of the river is polluted it is not necessary now to speak

"It is not my wish to attempt to describe in detail the condition of Calcutta To all who are here upon the spot the facts are notorious The state of the Capital of British India, one of the greatest and wealthiest cities in the world, is a scandal and a disgrace to a civilized Government The questions that are involved are not mere questions of ordinary sanitary improvement, such as those which commonly arise in other cities and in other countries The condition of this city is such that it is literally unfit for the habitation of civilized men Even if we put aside all questions of public health, and look on the matter as one of common decency, or as one of good Government, the state of Calcutta is disgraceful to the last degree

"It cannot be too prominently stated that the condition of Calcutta

is not the normal condition of Indian cities. I have seen the most important towns of the N W Provinces, of the Panjab, and of the Central Provinces. Their sanitary state is doubtless often in many respects most objectionable, but in comparison with Calcutta they are really almost faultless. There is no apparent reason why the difficulty of keeping Calcutta in at least a tolerable state of cleanliness should be greater than that experienced in other Indian cities. It is true that Calcutta is larger but on the other hand it is incomparably richer and it possesses greater natural facilities for carrying out a proper system of conservancy than any which exist in the cities of Northern India. Even, however if it should be considered that the difficulties of cleaning Calcutta are greater there is certainly no necessity that there should be such an extraordinary difference as that which actually exists

"It is often said that nothing effectual can be done for the purification of Calcutta until the great system of drainage now in progress is brought into operation In reply to this it appears to me quite sufficient to point to the fact that the cities of northern India are kept in a state of at least tolerable cleanliness, and free from all, especially disgusting nuisances, without any such system of scientific drainage What is possible there is, beyond the slightest doubt possible here also.

Sir John Strachey urged that the municipality did not possess the necessary power to enforce sanitation and suggested that it as the body responsible to the public and to Government for the proper administration of the city should be vested with full authority over the police The municipality should rule the police not the police the municipality" He advocated also the combination of the two offices of Chairman of the Justices and Commissioner of Police and that the Chairman should be invested with magisterial and other powers Sir C Beadon expressed his thanks for this Minute and took action on it and in a few months the Chairman of the Justices was appointed to be Commissioner of Police Sir C Beadon also carried a measure through the Governor General Legislative Council (Act XXI of 1864) to enable the Calcutta Magistrates (1) to deal summarily with offences against Chapter XIV of the Penal Code (2) to inflict minor punishments and (3) to prevent injury to human life health and safety and deal generally with local nuisances

Progress was made in the organisation of the new police in the [illegible] Bhagalpur Chota Nagpur and [illegible] Divisions. The [illegible] feature of the new [illegible]

Police

consisted in the detailed management of the police of each rict being vested in the District Superintendent and not as iously in the Magistrate, who was left no authority to interfere the internal organisation and discipline of the force, but he was to be responsible for the general police administration of the rict, (the District Superintendent was to be in effect an aid to the gistrate for the superintendence of the police in the district) es were framed by Government to define the powers of the police cers in their several grades, explain the manner of communication veen the Magistrate and police, and recapitulate all the necessary ructions for the working of the force The military police were dually disbanded and absorbed into the civil police, their reten- having been allowed only as a temporary arrangement until civil police were completely organised Various considerations, efly arising from changes in the law and the constitution of the ice, led to the conclusion that the *dacoity* department should no ger be maintained While its abolition in Bengal was under templation, the separate office in Bihar, which had not realised ectations was terminated The whole department was abolished 1863-64, and absorbed into the new police by the creation of a cial detective force

The Waste ds policy and rules of 1862

In October 1861 Lord Canning's Government published a Resolution regarding the sale of waste lands in fee simple and the redemption of land revenue An idea prevailed that there would be a great influx of erprising capitalists who would develop the resources of the land e proposals of Government were to the effect that all unoccupied ste lands throughout British India should be sold to any buyers a fixed price of Rs 2/8 per acre for uncleared, and double that e per acre for cleared, lands Within 30 days after an intending rchaser had put in his application any one claiming the property plied for might assert his right to it, if however that period of 30 ys elapsed without any claim being advanced the property was to be otted to the applicant, whose absolute possession was not thereafter be disturbed, even if a right of property in the land so allotted should established • Compensation might be awarded to any one proving itle to the land within a year of the sale, but the original possessor is not allowed to have any claim for the restoration of the land.

In August 1862 after lengthy despatches between the Secretary of State and the Government of India rules for the sale of unassessed waste lands and for the redemption of the revenue of such lands already granted for a term of years were issued by Sir C. Beadon The principal rules ran as follows —

"All unassessed waste lands in which no right or proprietorship or exclusive occupancy is known to exist or to have existed and to be capable of revival are avilable for purchase under these rules, unless specially reserved under rule [illegible]

"No greater quantity of land than 3000 acres shall be sold in one lot except with the express sanction of the Government. If for special reasons, in particular localities, a lower maximum area than 3000 acres should be determined upon, it will be duly notified hereafter

"Every lot shall be compact and shall include no more than one tract of land in a ring fence and when the land touches a public road or a navigable river the length of the road or river frontage shall not exceed ½ the depth of the lot. No lot will be sold unless it has been previously surveyed and demarcated or until it shall have been surveyed and demarcated in consequence of an application for purchase The survey need only be in sufficient detail to ensure the ready identification of the boundaries of the lot and to ascertain its gross area. If on completion of the survey it shall appear that the area of the lot applied for exceeds the prescribed maximum the excess shall be excluded.

Labour Emigration.

The demand for labour in Assam Cachar and Sylhet having been met by the river transport of native labourers to those districts from Bengal and certain evils e g fearful mortality having manifested themselves in connection therewith Act III (B. C) of 1863 was, after inquiry by a Committee of experts passed to secure the proper treatment of these persons in transit and the full comprehension by them of the nature of their contract. The provisions of this Act were such that labourers proceeding to those districts had at several stages to be brought under the observation of officers of Government Persons contracting to supply labourers and those who acted as recruiters for engaging them were required to be licensed by Superintendents of labour transport who as well as Medical Inspectors of labourers were to be appointed by Government [illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]

required to appear with them before a Magistrate, or, if in Calcutta, before a Superintendent The terms of the engagement were to be explained, and the names of the labourers to be registered, by an officer; and they were to be forwarded to a depot, where they were to be examined by a Medical Inspector A contract had to be signed by each labourer, and by some one on behalf of his employer, in the presence of the Superintendent, by whom it was to be explained, and an abstract of it had to be registered, and a copy sent to the Magistrate of the district where the service was to be performed Contracts for a longer period of service than 5 years were prohibited Provision was made for the licensing and victualling of steamers and boats carrying parties of labourers and for each party being accompanied by a certain proportion of females The labourers were to be landed under the supervision of the local Magistrate, assisted if necessary by the Medical Officer of the nearest station The Magistrate was required to report their arrival, and to make arrangements, if necessary, for forwarding them to the place of their destination

This Act regulated the manner of engaging and contracting with labourers for the Assam districts and their passage and transport thereto, but had no effect from the moment the labourers arrived at their destinations It was found that the interference of Government was necessary, as in the case of Colonial Emigration, so long as the contract existed, such interference being required both in the interests of the employer and the labourer The employer complained that he imported labourers at a very great expense, and that, as soon as they arrived, they refused to work, or left his service, that the punishment for desertion was slight, and carried with it a release from all engagements, and that, therefore, the labourer willingly incurred the liability to punishment in the hope of being set free from his contract The labourer, on the other hand, declared that he was not paid at the rate which he expected to receive when he agreed to go to those districts, that, when there, he was ill-used and neglected, and he therefore considered himself free from all liability under his contract

An Act, VI (B C) of 1865, was accordingly passed to provide for securing to the labourer, by the contract, a certain minimum monthly rate of wages, for the appointment of Protectors of

Labourers and of Inspectors and for the payment of salaries and the maintenance of establishments by means of a rate for each labourer calculated upon the average number of labourers on each estate for the punishment of the labourer if he refused or neglected work for the provision of sufficient hospital accommodation and medicines for the periodical inspection of the estates by the Protectors and the submission of inspection reports to Government It also provided for the apprehension and punishment of deserters and the investigation of complaints the cancelment of contracts under certain circumstances, and the release therefrom by purchase on payment of a sum of money equivalent to the minimum rate of wages for 2 years or if the term of engagement had less than 2 years to run of a sum equivalent to such rate for the unexpired term

Abandonment of Salt Manufacture by Government.

One of the most important administrative changes of the year 1862 3 was the abandonment by Government of its Salt Manufacture and its final disconnection with the so-called monopoly The strong prejudice which the people of India had previously maintained against the Liverpool boiled salt had rapidly disappeared before the low prices at which owing to the cheapness of freights and to the want of other cargoes English salt had lately been available in the Calcutta markets Simultaneously with this tendency to increased cheapness in English salt the manufacture of Government salt showed a constant tendency to become more expensive; and at the commencement of 1862-63 Liverpool salt had in consequence complete possession of the market *It was pointed out at the same time that so long as Government* salt was sold at cost price in addition to a fixed duty which was the same for all descriptions of salt, the Government would be in no degree peculiarly interested in their manufactured salt being consumed in preference to that exported from Liverpool while on the other hand it was obviously for the benefit of the community that the cheapest salt should be also the most widely consumed These considerations all tended to the conclusion that Government might ultimately dissolve its connection with the salt manufacture but in regard to the possibly temporary nature of the causes which led to the unprecedented low prices of Liverpool salt and on the other hand to the old rates at which Government had been engaging



Photogravure Survey of India Offices Calcutta, December 1900

SIR WILLIAM GREY K C S I

From a photograph by Messrs Bourne & Shepherd

in the manufacture incurred of providing a sufficient supply of salt to meet all contingencies, it was considered expedient not to retire too suddenly from the manufacture but greatly to contract it, and, while ensuring a supply equal to the sales of the past year, to allow the foreign salt trade every facility for establishing itself on a firm and permanent basis

With this object in view, in deciding upon the course to be adopted in the manufacturing season of 1862-63, it was determined that the Chittagong salt agency should be closed, the Hooghly and Tamluk agencies were united under one officer, the manufacture of *karkach* or solar evaporated salt was stopped, and of boiled salt the manufacture was limited to 9,00,000 maunds Rules were at the same time drawn up to enable private persons to continue the manufacture, should they wish to do so, under the excise system, and to transfer to them such portions of the salt agency lands no longer required by Government as might be applied for The manufacture of the season was ordered to be closed as speedily as possible, and it was announced that it would not be reopened in the current year

Government thus definitely abandoned a system which, from its first establishment by Lord Clive, in the shape of a pure monopoly, had lasted with various modifications almost a century, and the goal which the Parliamentary Committee of 1836 distinctly pointed out as the final object of the principle they laid down in determining the system under which Government salt was to be priced, viz, the ultimate displacement of the Government manufacture by imported salt, had after 27 years been fully attained

Khasia rebels

In the cold weather of 1862-3 active operations were continued against the Khasia rebels, as they had failed to understand the pacific measures adopted for the settlement of the country The rebels were altogether unable to make head against the force brought to bear on them on the 25th December the chief leader and instigator of the rebellion was captured Before the end of March the Commissioner reported the rising to be at an end Measures were taken for the introduction of civilization and order among the Khasias *Inter alia*, the superiority of Shillong over Cherrapunji as the chief civil station of the Khasia and Jaintia hills was recognised, and it was adopted as the sanitarium and military station of Assam

Frontier tribes.

On the Assam frontier friendly relations were established with the Abors measures were taken with the Angami Nagas to prevent the recurrence of outrages on British subjects the Chittagong Hill Tracts were being brought into order by the newly appointed Superintendent but the Howlong and Sylhoo tribes of Kukis still held aloof rejecting all overtures towards amity they looked on the presents offered by the Superintendent as magic gift intended to bewitch them and requiring to be aired in the wind before they could be safely accepted No dependence could be placed on the good faith of the savages generally *and after all Government had to depend for the preservation of peace* chiefly on the maintenance of an efficient line of semi military post on the frontier The Shindus of the trans frontier raided and massacred unoffending villagers and wood-cutters while the Kukis refused to release British subjects whom they were said to hold captive at the same time the existence of a trade for supplying the Kukis with arms and ammunition came to light A survey of the hill country between the plain and the frontier tribes was completed and Sir C Beadon authorised the immediate construction of roads to connect the military posts and afford means of general communication

In 1863 4 the Nagas raided on Cachar but the Kukis made no attempts on the villages of the Chittagong frontier negotiations were entered into with a Kuki chief named Sukpoilal to induce him to release a number of British subjects from captivity In subsequent years there was continual trouble or fear of trouble with the frontier tribes At one time it was caused by the Nagas at another by the Shindus the Kukis for the most part remaining quiet the police posts were strengthened and attempts renewed to recover the captive Before undertaking an expedition into the unexplored jungles inhabited by the Lushais efforts were made from both the Cachar and Chittagong [illegible] to obtain some knowledge of the geography of the region

Vernacular Education.

Vernacular Education received a fresh impetus from Sir C Beadon normal schools were [illegible] at [illegible] Dacca Krishnagar and Jessore for the [illegible] of training ma[illegible] village schools [illegible] under the scheme for Vernacular Education [illegible] The

scheme had received several important modifications as experience had been gained its general object was the improvement of the indigenous schools of the country by the offer of money rewards to the *gurus* The plan consisted of the villages where there were *pathsalas* sending their *guru*, or some suitable person, to the training school with a monthly stipend under reciprocal agreement that the *pathsala* and their nominee should work together after the course of training The normal schools were easily filled

The Secretary of State in July 1864, reviewing the reports of the Director of Public Instruction in Bengal for the 3 years 1860-1 to 1862-63 wrote

"The least effective part of the operations of the educational department in Bengal has always been that which relates to the elementary education of the people In the so-called "Vernacular" schools an insignificant number only received instruction, and it has been the opinion of many of those who took the warmest interest in the subject that the improvement of existing indigenous schools was the most likely means of extending to the people generally the opportunity of receiving an education directed to their station and circumstances The circle system, founded on this basis and introduced into Bengal by Mr Woodrow, seems to have produced some effect, but the measure which promises to be most effective is that which has been in operation for the last 3 years, under which masters are trained for indigenous schools in normal establishments expressly provided for them, and a small stipend is added by Government to the salaries of all those masters who successfully pass their examination when they are placed in charge of their schools I have perused with much interest the report of Babu Bhudeb Mukerji the Inspector specially appointed to superintend the working of this system"

In connection with Education it may be mentioned that in 1863-4 Sir C Beadon induced the Government of India to sanction, as a Government Institution under a Principal the Industrial school of Arts which had been founded in 1854 by a number of gentlemen designated 'the Society for the promotion of Industrial Art,' as the school had become practically dependent on Government The objects of the school were to introduce among the natives an improved taste and an appreciation of the true principles of Art, in matters both of decoration and utility, and to supply Draftsmen, Designers, Engineers, Modellers, Lithographers, Engravers &c, to meet the demand for them in this country

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The railways in Bengal reached a stage of completion about this time At the end of 1861 2 379 miles of the East Indian Railway were open to Monghyr (with branches) on the 5th January 1863 the Viceroy officially opened the extension to Rajghat opposite Benares A direct line from Raniganj to Lakhisarai was under consideration. On the 15th November 1862 the Eastern Bengal line was opened through to Kushtia for general traffic, and the Calcutta and South Eastern Line to Canning Town was opened on the 15th May 1863

Railways.

A very fatal epidemic had of late years shown itself in some of the villages of the Presidency and Burdwan Divisions but the steps taken to afford relief viz the appointment of native doctors and the gratuitous distribution of medicine failed to check its progress Towards the close of 1862 a special officer Dr J Elliot was deputed to visit the affected districts He traced the progress of the disease from the Jessore and Nadia districts to Hooghly Barasat and Burdwan and explained the various predisposing causes which enabled an ordinary epidemic fever to become a scourge less virulent but in its effects not less desolating than cholera The disease was described as differing only in its intensity from the ordinary form of malarious fever "being of a more congestive character than the ordinary intermittent, but presenting all the grades of severity between the remittent and intermittent types and its excessive virulence in these districts was attributed solely to villages being undrained houses unventilated tanks uncleaned and overgrown with noxious weeds and to the tangled growth of jungle and rank vegetation with which the Bengali loves to surround and to obscure his dwelling

The fever epidemic.

immediate vicinity of houses, the pruning and thinning of trees, the removal of trees and bamboos from the sides of tanks, the uprooting and burning of low bushy jungle, vegetation, and rank grass, the deepening and cleaning of the larger tanks, and the filling-in of all useless tanks, water-courses, and other excavations in the neighbourhood of houses, the appropriation of particular tanks exclusively for the supply of drinking water, the construction of a few drains and paths in each village, and the proper ordering of burial-grounds and burning-*ghats*. This is one of the first notices of the so-called "Burdwan" fever which recurred again several years after this date, and will be mentioned in due course It not only carried off its victims in large numbers, but the health of the whole population appeared to be deteriorated thereby The sanguine hopes that were entertained in 1862-3 of the measures adopted were never realized The fever was, generally speaking, an unusual phase of the malarial fever from which Lower Bengal is never free The efforts of Government to mitigate its ravages were to some extent successful after a time it appeared to die away of itself But in 1863-4 this epidemic fever again appeared The sanitary measures ordered had, wherever carried out with tolerable efficiency, greatly mitigated the intensity of the scourge, but they failed generally through the want of willing co-operation on the part of the people and their *zamindars*, and this again was owing to their inability to understand that a comparatively new visitation like the epidemic could be in any way connected with the unwholesome state of the villages, which was assuredly no new thing A special Commission drew up a Report on the subject, containing a full and complete account of the nature, history, and probable causes of the disease, and offering some valuable suggestions for dealing with it The epidemic was described as a congestive remittent fever, running its course to a fatal termination, usually with great rapidity and, where not at once fatal, leaving the patient so shattered as to be generally unable to resist a recurrence of the attack So fatal was it that no less than 30 per cent of the whole population of the affected area were carried off by it The Commission came to the conclusion that the miasma, which was the immediate cause of the disease, was the result of the great dampness of the earth's surface, and that this damp had been intensified to an unusual degree of late years owing

to the fact that there had been a gradual filling up of the *bils* by the deposit brought in from rivers and that this again had been supplemented by a gradual but continuous, rise in the level of the river bed itself thus causing a general derangement of levels so as seriously to affect the natural drainage of the country The remedies proposed were—an improved system of drainage throughout the country the burning of weeds dried grass and jungle in the villages, especially at night time the filling up of the small and filthy holes and clearing of the larger pools and tanks in the villages and the removal of low brushwood and the thick accumulations of fallen leaves and branches. It was proposed that steps should be taken for a supply of pure drinking water by reserving certain tanks under the charge of the police for drinking water only and by the erection, if possible of public filters The Commission insisted very strongly on the necessity of stringent measures being taken in all larger villages for the proper disposal of dead bodies. They condemned the practices of uneducated medicine vendors who went about the villages making money out of the ignorance of the people by the sale of drug of the nature of which they equally were ignorant and suggested the registration of qualified practitioners. It i on record that the epidemic fever disappeared entirely after the cyclone of 1864 and there wa no return of it in 1865 to attract attention" But it reappeared in 1866 and 1867

with the Magistrate as Chairman The Act provided for the main taxation on houses buildings and land, but gave power to tax also carriages, carts horses, trades, &c, it also authorized works of improvement and the borrowing of money for permanent works of public utility The Commissioners were to provide the whole cost of the police besides attending to communications and conservancy. They generally received from Government the proceeds of ferries, tolls and pounds, on condition of managing them The Act was applied to several towns forthwith, and to others in subsequent years

The Native Press

The Government of India having directed that the productions of the Native Press should be carefully examined, that all matters of political importance contained in them might at once be brought to the notice of Government, and materials be at the same time collected for an annual report on the Native Press, the Lieutenant-Governor entrusted the duty of examining and reporting on all native periodicals, &c, published in Bengal to the Revd J Robinson, Bengali Translator to Government, who was also directed to prepare and submit an annual Report on the operation of the system The Reports submitted by Mr Robinson dealt only with papers published in the native languages, all papers written by natives in the English language being examined by the Secretaries Copies of Mr Robinson's weekly abstracts were forwarded regularly to the Government of India and to the Secretary of State, and inquiry was frequently made as to the truth of the statements published by these papers

The Bengal Library

The Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain having applied for assistance in rendering a knowledge of the current literature of India available to scholars in Europe, the Secretary of State directed that a catalogue of the works already published in India should be prepared and an annual Return of all new books and pamphlets furnished The work, which had been partly done by the Rev J Long, was continued by Mr Robinson As a part of the general scheme, a Bengali Library, to contain all the most important and interesting books published in the vernacular, was established by Government and located in the Bengal Secretariat

Agricultural Exhibition.

Sir C Beadon proposed and matured in 1862-3 a scheme for holding a public Agricultural Exhibition on the ground adjoining Belvedere, with a view to promote

an improved system of agriculture throughout the country and more especially to enlist the interests of the *zamindars* in it. It was to be conducted under the general direction of Government with the assistance and co-operation of the Agricultural and Horticultural Society of India. Its immediate object was to bring together from all parts of the country for the purposes of show competition and eventual sale cattle and other live stock agricultural implements and machinery and all kinds of produce It was anticipated that the show would be self supporting and that the expense of it would be covered by the sale of admission tickets to the public The funds required at the outset were advanced by Government.

To carry out the details of the Exhibition arrange preliminaries and communicate with intending exhibitors a provisional Committee was appointed composed partly of members of the Agricultural and Horticultural Society of India and partly of Government officers and others interested The Commissioners of Divisions were directed to appoint Local Committees in each district to explain the objects of and the benefits expected to result from such an exhibition to the landholder and endeavour to obtain their co-operation and assistance Ample time was given to exhibitors to prepare for the occasion It was intended if the Exhibition realized the expectations of the Lieutenant-Governor to repeat it annually either at Calcutta *or elsewhere within Bengal*

The Exhibition was opened at Alipore on the 18th January 1864 by Sir John Lawrence it was his first public appearance as Viceroy he spoke of the backwardness of Indian Agriculture and of the desirability of encouraging it by such means as Exhibitions The Alipore Exhibition remained open for a fortnight. The articles exhibited were arranged in 3 great classes viz. (1) live stock (2) machinery and implements and (3) produce The general interest taken in the Exhibition was evinced by the numerous contributions received from all parts of Bengal and from many other places in India, as well as by the great concourse of all classes European and native who assembled on the occasion The number of admission tickets sold was 42,31[illegible] including season tickets the holders of which must have visited the show more than once. On the last day the public were admitted free of charge and the number who passed the entrance gates was [illegible] 419 It was calculated that

not less than 70,000 people visited the Exhibition during the fortnight that it remained open Considering the novelty of the undertaking, the vague and mistaken impressions that prevailed as to its nature and objects, and the little attention previously paid to the improvements of stock, the show of horses cattle, sheep, and poultry was creditable A great variety of produce, chiefly grain and pulse, teas, and fibres was exhibited , and the native implements from Burma attracted much attention But by far the most interesting department of the Exhibition was the machinery imported from Europe, comprising oil mills, flour mills, threshing machines, steam ploughs, centrifugal and other pumps, tea-making machines, cotton and jute-presses, and many other implements useful for purposes of agriculture and agricultural commerce in India The steam plough trials were well attended, and excited much interest among the native *zamindars* who witnessed them The expenditure connected with the Exhibition amounted to Rs 1,16,540 and the receipts to Rs 86,627, leaving a balance of nearly Rs 30,000 to be defrayed by the State

The success of the Exhibition and the strong desire expressed in many quarters that it should be repeated induced Sir C Beadon to recommend to the Government of India that there should be local agricultural shows for live stock and the products of agricultural labour every year, in different parts of the country, the primary object being to encourage improved methods of culture and care in the breeding of cattle As a necessary complement of these annual Divisional shows it was proposed by Sir C Beadon and sanctioned by the Government of India that there should be a central Exhibition in Calcutta for live stock and agricultural implements every 3 years and a general Exhibition for agricultural machinery and all other products of Industrial Art in 1869-70 In the cold weather of 1864-5, agricultural shows were held in 8 of the Divisions of Bengal (and Assam) They were all without exception most popular and successful and were carried out entirely, or almost entirely, by the people themselves without any cost to Government Sir C Beadon himself opened the shows at Tirhut, Bhagulpur and Burdwan, and took the opportunity of expressing his satisfaction at the ready manner in which the importance of the Exhibitions had been recognised not only by the officials but also by

the *zamindars* and the people and of explaining their aim and object, urging the necessity of supplementing them with agricultural associations whereby the knowledge gained at the Exhibition might be diffused and put to a practical purpose. Agricultural shows were held again in 1865-66 in the Divisions which were free from scarcity but after that they seem to have died out. It was said that, though the first Exhibition had some educational effect upon the natives its influence in improving their agriculture was inappreciable.

The floating corpses and burning ghat nuisances.

The practice of throwing dead bodies into the river in and near Calcutta was one which Government had long desired to stop. In 1854 an attempt was made to prevent it by legislation but it was ascertained that such a prohibition would be regarded as an interference with the religious observances of the natives and the idea of stopping the practice was consequently abandoned. Government was obliged to content itself with employing an establishment under the Commissioner of Police to sink as many floating bodies as they could find on the river opposite Calcutta. The arrangement was necessarily incomplete as many corpses escaped the vigilance of the police and both above and below the town as well as on the tidal creeks leading to the river bodies both of men and animals continued to float up and down with each tide repulsive to sight smell and decency. One of the consequences of the epidemic fever in the Presidency and Burdwan Divisions was that the number of human bodies floating down the river to Calcutta increased the establishment proved insufficient the state of the river attracted general attention and Government determined to take immediate action. Before 18[illegible] there was no law under which the intolerable nuisance above described could be effectually prevented but the Penal Code contained a section under which the practice might be dealt with as a common nuisance. The principal source of the evil was traced to the burning places at Nimtala *ghat* and Kasi Mitter's *ghat* in the centre of the native town where it was usual for Hindus to bring their dead for cremation but where a large proportion of the corpses instead of being burnt were either thrown [illegible] consigned [illegible] to be afterwards disposed of in the same way. The recent [illegible] Municipal Act VI (B.C.) of 18[illegible] had empowered the Justices

of the Peace selected from all classes of the community, to certify with the sanction of Government that these burning places were dangerous to the health of persons living in the neighbourhood and thereupon to close them Sir C Beadon accordingly deemed it proper to prohibit absolutely the practice of throwing bodies of men and animals into the river as the practice could be prevented at once by law and he addressed the Justices requesting them to give their immediate attention to the necessity of stopping the practice of burning the dead within the limits of the town or on the banks of the river where the practice was a nuisance to the populous neighbourhood, and also to prevent the skinning of animals at Nimtala *ghat* or elsewhere He expressed a strong opinion as to the character and evil consequence of these nuisances and it was intimated to the Justices that a place on the bank of Tolly's *nala* which, in native estimation, is the real course of the sacred Bhagirathi, would be assigned for the purposes of a burning-*ghat* The subject was first considered by a Committee of the Justices who reported that, although the removal of the burning-*ghat* at Nimtala would be an improvement, yet that it should not be removed because its removal to Kasi Mitter's *ghat* would be inconvenient to persons residing near the former place, and because it was not a nuisance The Committee entirely approved of the removal of the skinning-*ghat*, and of the prevention of the practice of throwing corpses into the river, and recommended that the bodies of paupers should be burned at the expense of the town This Report was adopted by the Justices at a full meeting, after a warm discussion, and by a very small majority, and they further resolved to appoint a Special Committee to devise means for making the burning of dead bodies, where the *ghats* stood, as unobjectionable as possible

The result was reported to Government by the Chairman and the Justices were informed in reply that Sir C Beadon regarded the appointment of a Committee to mitigate the nuisance as a decidedly forward step, and hoped that the Committee's Report would enable the Justices to deal with the question of the burning-*ghats* in a more satisfactory way afterwards Sir C Beadon entertained no doubt whatever that in the course of a few years these standing nuisances would be removed by

the spontaneous action of the Justices themselves and that, as the native Justices had unanimously condemned the practice of throwing corpses into the river a practice the proposed suppression of which 10 years previous an eminent Hindu gentleman declared would be regarded as a violation of the Hindu religion they would be equally unanimous in voting for the removal of the burning *ghats* from the centre of the town to some suitable place beyond the suburbs where cremation might be effected without violence to the feelings of the public or injury to the health of the City

Cyclone of 5th October 1864.

On the 5th October 1864 Calcutta and the neighbouring districts were visited by a hurricane of unprecedented violence commonly remembered as the Cyclone of that date The gale had its origin somewhere about the Andaman travelled from that point in a westerly direction and inclining towards the north struck the coast of Bengal about the Balasore Roads and Hijli Here during the night of the 4th it raged with great force and hence the centre of the storm appears to have travelled northerly inclining eastward along the right bank of the Hooghly at a pace varying from 6 to 26 miles an hour The full violence of the storm was felt at Calcutta from 10 a.m to 4 p m on the 5th Between 11 and 12 o clock a noise like that of distant thunder gave warning as it gradually increased that something worse was coming In about 2 minutes the cyclone was upon the town According to the observations at the Meteorological Observatory the wind which had been blowing from N E suddenly veered at 9 a m to E raging very strongly and in great gusts varying in pressure from 5 to 32 lb per square foot till about 2 p m when the wind shifted to S E The gale was accompanied by heavy

the strongest embankments, flooding the crops with salt water, carrying away entire villages, and in its effects was more disastrous than the violent wind The town and suburbs of Calcutta suffered greatly, especially the northern part of the town where the native huts were blown down in great numbers About 17 persons were killed in the town, and 32 in the suburbs, by falling houses and trees over 100 masonry houses were destroyed and 500 to 600 damaged about 40,600 tiled and straw huts were ruined or injured The roads were obstructed by the fallen trees and the water in the tanks was rendered less wholesome by the leaves &c, swept into them

The gale was felt severely at Hooghly, Serampore, Kalna, Krishnagar, Rampur Boalia, Pabna, and Bogra, where the jail was blown down many of the Government buildings at those places were greatly damaged

But the principal agent of destruction was the storm-wave Only after its force was expended by being spread over a wide extent of country and after it had arrived near Achipur, within 20 miles of Calcutta, was the wave so far diminished as to be confined in the main between the actual river banks Had the embankments below been large and strong enough to keep the wave within their boundaries, the result to Calcutta would have been infinitely more disastrous than it was, and the total destruction of life and property would have been immeasurably greater. The reports from the districts affected by the storm-wave showed terrible losses of life and property in Howrah nearly 2,000 persons and 12,000 head of cattle were returned as killed or drowned in Midnapore over 20,000 persons were said to have perished, and 40,000 head of cattle in the 24-*Parganas*, 12,000 persons and 80 per cent of the cattle At Daulatpur (in the Midnapore district) the wave was 30 feet in height, and above the Rasalpur river it rose still higher At Saugor island, it was 15 feet above land-level, and appeared to cut a channel straight across the island, dividing it into 2 halves Saugor island, in fact, suffered perhaps more severely than any other portion of the tract inundated The embankments, all the houses, huts, *golas* and buildings, were destroyed scarcely a living creature was left. A few human beings escaped, by climbing up trees, or floating on the roofs of their houses, which the wave swept away and carried

many miles inland. Out of a population of nearly 6,000 less than 1500 survived; 7,000 cattle were drowned. At Diamond Harbour the wave was 11 feet high. The villages on either side suffered more or less; in some every house was swept away with most of the inhabitants. The Government buildings sustained severe damage. The distress and suffering to which the survivors in the affected tract were exposed after the disaster were very great. For several days food was not obtainable, the local stores had been swept away and relief could not be sent from Calcutta. In some places a kind of grass was eaten as food, and at others which escaped the storm wave the stores of the rice merchants were broken open and plundered.

seriously injured Three salt ships foundered others threw awa
their cargoes, many smaller boats sank altogether the destructio
of salt was very large At 6 P M the Strand Road was floode
throughout and in places the water stood breasthigh On lan
very extensive injury was inflicted on the public works and building
in the Presidency Circle, including those in Fort William, a
Barrackpore and Dum Dum The avenues in Fort William an
the Botanic Garden were destroyed the Eden Gardens wer
turned into a wilderness the Barrackpore Park lost 50 per cen
of its valuable trees and the avenue on the Barrackpore road wa
even worse injured The emigration depots were wrecked, but ther
was little loss of life there The roof of St Paul's Cathedral wa
completely torn off, and the building presented a ruinous appearance
The roof of the Free School was blown away so also the minaret
of the Dharmtala mosque, and many roofs, steeples and elevate
buildings

Relief measures were promptly adopted The district officer
of the 24-*Parganas*, Midnapore and Howrah lost no time in sendin
out supplies of rice for the starving population and in providin
for the burial of the dead, and the removal of the carcases o
animals, and other substances likely to injure the public health
Measures were taken for the clearance of tanks and the remova
of salt water Sir C Beadon deputed a special officer to procee
in charge of the supplies and to direct the relief operation
He also authorised the continuance of the relief measures unt
the people could provide means of subsistence for themselve
Work was offered to the whole population in the repair of embank
ments on ordinary wages without a strict exaction of tasks Th
Marine Department at once despatched steamers to render aid t
distressed vessels and their crews, and to visit and relieve th
river stations Sir C Beadon directed that the whole of th
sea-coast should be examined and as far as possible all the creek
in the Sundarbans also A public meeting was called to organis
relief measures, and the subscriptions to the relief fund soon ex-
ceeded 3 *lakhs* By the middle of November the people were
generally resuming their occupations, but in Saugor island and o
the west of the river they were fed by charity for some time as n
work was procurable. The tanks, even those flooded with salt water

The relations of Government with the Bhutan Government continued to be unsettled and unsatisfactory The latter failed to send messengers to explain their views and, as the outrages which for a series of years had been committed by subjects of the Bhutan Government within British territory and Kuch Bihar and Sikhim did not cease, Sir C Beadon urged the Government of India to carry out its expressed intention of sending an Envoy to Tassisudan in Bhutan for the amicable adjustment of all pending matters of dispute and to revise and improve the relations existing between the 2 Governments The reasons for sending a Mission remained in his opinion, as cogent as ever but it was found impossible to despatch one in 1862-3 Subsequently, Sir A Eden was selected by the Viceroy for the office and furnished with instructions for his guidance by the Government of India He left for Bhutan by Darjeeling and Dalimkote, towards the close of 1863, accompanied by Captain Godwin Austen as his Assistant, Dr (Sir) Benjamin Simpson as Medical Officer, Cheeboo Lama as Interpreter, and an escort of 100 men under the command of Captain Lance The Envoy was charged by the Governor-General with proposals of a conciliatory character, being at the same instructed to demand the surrender of the captives taken and the restoration of the property plundered from British territory, and also that security should be given for the future peace of the frontier Every obstacle was put in his way, and he pressed on with the greatest difficulty to Punakha The overtures made were, however, rejected by the Government of Bhutan, and not only were restitution for the past and security for the future refused, but the Envoy was insulted in open *darbar* and compelled, as the only means of ensuring the safe return of the Mission, to sign under protest a document for the renunciation of the Bhutan Duars situated on the Assam Frontier, which were the property of Bhutan, but which were administered by our officers, a payment of Rs 10,000 being made to the Bhutan Government as the revenue of the tract in question It appeared that the Deb and Dharm Rajas of Bhutan were mere puppets, and that the Tongso Penlow had usurped the chief power in the State it was he and his faction who treated Sir A Eden with indignity There was no real Government in the country With difficulty Sir A Eden and his party left the capital during the night, and returned to Darjeeling in April 1864

Bhutan

This treatment of our Envoy led to the annual payment h
made to the Bhutan Government on account of the Assam
being withheld and to the formal annexation of Ambari Fa
which had long been in the occupation of the British Gover
Still anxious to avoid an open rupture the Government of
addre ed at the same time a formal demand to the Deb and I
Rajas for the release of the captives detained against their wil
for the re oration of the property carried off within the last 5
but this being only met by an evasive reply from the Dharm
it was determined by the Government of India to annex the I
Duar and s much f the hill territory including the fort of D
Ko e (i e Dalimkote) I a aka and Dewangiri as might be nec
t c mman l the pa es an l to prevent a repetition of hostil
predatory incur ions into the plain below

A Proclamation to this effect was issued by the Governm
India on the 12th of November 1864 in the following terms —

"For many years past outrages have been committed by subj
the Bhutan Government within British territory and in the terr
of the Rajas of Sikkim and Kuch Bihar In these outrages pr
has been plundered and destroyed, lives have been taken and
innocent persons have been carried into and are still held in captiv
The British Government, ever sincerely desirous of maint

Bhutan Not only were restitution for the past and security for the future refused, but the British Envoy was insulted in open *darbar* and compelled, as the only means of ensuring the safe return of the Mission, to sign a document which the Government of India could only instantly repudiate

For this insult the Governor-General in Council determined to withhold for ever the annual payments previously made to the Bhutan Government on account of the revenues of the Assam Duars and Ambari Falakata, which had long been in the occupation of the British Government, and annexed those districts permanently to British Territory At the same time, still anxious to avoid a open rupture, the Governor-General in Council addressed a letter to the Deb and Dharm Rajas formally demanding that all captives detained in Bhutan against their will should be released, and that all property carried off during the last 5 years should be restored

To this demand the Government of Bhutan has returned an evasive reply, from which can be gathered no hope that the just requisitions of the Government of India will ever be complied with, or that the security of the frontier can be provided for otherwise than by depriving the Government of Bhutan and its subjects of the means and opportunity of future aggression

The Governor-General in Council has therefore reluctantly resolved to occupy permanently and annex to British territory the Bengal Duars of Bhutan, and so much of the Hill territory including the Forts of Dalingkote, Pasaka, and Dewangiri, as may be necessary to command the passes, and to prevent the hostile or predatory incursions of Bhutanese into the Darjeeling District or into the plains below A military force amply sufficient to occupy this tract and to overcome all resistance has been assembled on the frontier, and will now proceed to carry out this resolve

All chiefs, *zamindars*, *mandals*, *raiyats*, and other inhabitants of the tract in question are hereby required to submit to the authority of the British Government, to remain quietly in their homes, and to render assistance to the British troops and to the Commissioner who is charged with the administration of the tract Protection of life and property and a guarantee of all private rights is offered to those who do not resist, and strict justice will be done to all The lands will be moderately assessed, and all oppression and extortion will be absolutely prohibited The future boundary between the territories of the Queen of England and those of Bhutan will be surveyed and marked off, and the authority of the Government of Bhutan within this boundary will cease for ever"

Accordingly, a military force of sufficient strength assembled

under the orders of the Military Department to advance simultaneously in 4 columns to carry out the measure and take up posts at Dewangiri, Sidli Pasakha and Dalingkote No overtures from the Bhutan Government were to be admitted except on condition amounting to their submission Brigadier Generals Mulcaster and Dunford c B were in command The opposition made by the Bhutia though at one time much exaggerated was generally of the most contemptible kind They were found to be efficient only in throwing up stockades and offering resistance from behind them but in the plains they proved to be as despicable a foe as could well be conceived The fortresses named in the Proclamation were taken possession of with the greatest ease Dalingkote being taken on the 6th December Pasakha on the 7th and the whole of the Duars was completely occupied by the middle of January 1865

required for facilitating their passage, to the establishment of fair weather communications between the several military posts occupied by them, to the procuring of materials and skilled labour for the erection of barracks and other buildings required for their accommodation, and to the collection of information of every kind which might prove useful in carrying on the military operations For these purposes Lieutenant-Colonel J C Haughton was appointed Chief Officer with the Duars Field Force He was also appointed Political Agent and placed in entire charge of our relations with the Bhutan Government Mr C T Metcalfe, C S was also appointed a civil officer with the force, and Messrs, T A Donough and J J S Driberg, assistants to the civil officers, that the requirements of each division of the Field Force might be promptly attended to The civil authorities at Gauhati, Gawalpara, Kuch Bihar, Jalpaiguri, Purnea, Rangpur, Dinajpur, and Darjeeling were moreover directed to comply with all requisitions of the military authorities as promptly as possible The manner in which all these calls upon them were met by the several officers referred to received the entire approval of the Lieutenant-Governor

At the close of the year 1864-65 the newly annexed Duars of Bhutan were occupied by a strong military force The Bhutias, though cut off from all communication with the plains, both in Assam and Bengal, refused at first to treat except upon the basis of the surrender of the annexed territory This being out of the question, the Government of India determined to send an expedition into the interior of Bhutan as soon as the cessation of the rains should admit of the movement The Deb and Dharm Rajas were accordingly warned that if they did not come to terms *i e* the terms of November 1864, before the cold season, their country would be invaded, and preparations for the expedition were at the same time vigorously pushed on, with a view to the despatch of 2 columns against Punakha and Tongso No defensive preparations were made by the Bhutan Government who seemed to trust to the difficulty of their country to prevent the advance of our troops, and for some time persisted in their unreasonable demands At length, Colonel Bruce, C B, who had succeeded to the political charge of the frontier, distinctly announced the terms on which alone the British Government would

consent to treat. These were the absolute cession by Bhutan of all the Duars and of the hill country between the Tista and Jaldaka rivers and the release of all captives detained in Bhutan against their will. The Government of Bhutan was also required to give up the treaty extorted by force from the British Envoy and to submit an apology for the misconduct of its officers and to enter into mutual arrangements for the extradition of criminals and the reciprocity of trade. On the other hand the British Government agreed, in consideration of the cession of territory to make an annual allowance beginning with Rs. 25,000 and rising gradually to Rs. 50,000 the payment thereof being made conditional on the good conduct of the Bhutan Government and its adherence to the provisions of the treaty.

To these conditions the Bhutan Government for a long time hesitated to accede but when preparations for the proposed invasion were almost complete they yielded: the treaty extorted from Sir A. Eden was given up to Colonel Bruce on the 8th November and on

of immediate fulfilment were complied with, 72 captives were set at liberty, and the cession of the territory completed The whole of the Bhutia possessions in the plains thus became British, and a slip of British hill territory was interposed between Bhutan and Sikhim, whereby it became practicable to open a direct route into Tibet without passing through any intermediate foreign territory The survey of such a route and of the frontier generally was to be undertaken as soon as possible The moderation of the terms on which peace was concluded with Bhutan excited no little indignation on the part of the Press and the public, but the treaty having been concluded the terms could not be reopened and the Government of India showed no inclination to modify their policy The best proof of the justice of the terms, it has been said, lies in the fact that our relations with Bhutan have been satisfactory ever since

The Secretary of State, (Sir C Wood) in a despatch dated the 1st February 1866, thus reviewed the chain of events connected with the negociation and execution of the treaty of peace of November 1865 with the Bhutan Government —

"The long-continued aggressions of the Bhutias upon your frontier, by which not only much property had been carried off, but many subjects of the British Government, or of our allies, had been made prisoners and slaves, had induced Lord Canning to entertain the question of despatching an expedition into the Bhutan country, but his attention was diverted from it by the Mutiny in 1857

"On the restoration of tranquillity, the subject of this expedition was again brought under the consideration of the Government of India The outrages, which had so long rendered insecure the property and the liberty of our people on the Bhutan frontier, still continued, and the necessity of some interference on the part of your Government was as urgent as before In order, however, if possible, to obtain reparation for the past and security for the future, without resorting to hostile measures, it was determined to despatch a British officer on a mission to the Bhutan Rajas

"As on former occasions, British missions, which had been despatched to the Bhutan capital, had been well received, there was no reason to believe that the officer deputed to proceed to Punakha would be otherwise than courteously treated in the Bhutan country

"The Envoy selected for this duty was the Hon'ble Ashley Eden, who had before been employed in adjusting your relations with the Sikhim State, on which occasion he had perfectly succeeded and had evinced, in difficult circumstances, ability and energy of a high order

"Mr Eden had not, however penetrated far into the country when it became obvious that unanticipated difficulties would be thrown in his way In my despatch of 18th July 1864, No 39, I had concurred in the opinion expressed by your Excellency that it might have been better if Mr Eden had abstained, in the face of these difficulties, from advancing further than Paro. In any circumstances, Her Majesty's Government could not severely condemn what could only be considered as an error in judgment on the part of a public officer resulting from a determination to carry out the instructions committed to him and to endeavour at any personal risk to avert the contingency of war But it now appears, from the correspondence forwarded to me with your Foreign (General) Letter of 5th October (No. 39) 1865 (to which I have replied in a separate despatch), that Mr Eden was encouraged in the course which he pursued of advancing to Punakha, by those under whose authority he was acting

"On his arrival at Punakha, Mr Eden was subjected to such gross insults and indignities at the hands of certain high officers of the Bhutan Government, that it became impossible for your Excellency to refrain from exacting reparation from a State that had so outraged the British Government in the person of its Envoy Accordingly a military expedition was equipped for service in Bhutan in the cold season of 1864.

"It is unnecessary in this despatch to enter into the military operations of 1864-65. They were necessarily brought to a close by the rains of the latter year No satisfactory results having been obtained, you proceeded to make preparations for the renewal of operations at the commencement of the ensuing cold season.

"Before however any hostilities had taken place overtures were made on the part of the Bhutan Rajas which shewed that they were anxious to enter into negotiations for peace

Colonel Bruce proceeded to negociate the terms of the permanent arrangement of a new treaty

"The Bhutan Government agreed to surrender all British subjects and all subjects of Kuch Bihar and Sikhim detained in Bhutan against their will and subscribed to articles for the mutual extradition of criminals, the maintenance of free trade between the two countries, and the arbitration by the British Government of all disputes between the Bhutan Government and the chiefs of Kuch Bihar and Sikhim

"They were further required to cede, in perpetual sovereignty, to the British Government the whole of the plain country known as the Duars, not only those which had been for some time in British occupation, but also the western Duars adjacent to Bengal, which had not been so occupied before the commencement of hostilities (making in the aggregate 18) together with certain hill posts protecting the passes into Bhutan The country thus ceded was estimated to yield an annual revenue of about a *lakh* and a half of Rupees, or £15,000 per annum

"In respect to the Duars which had for many years been occupied by the British Government, a certain annual payment from their revenues had always been made to Bhutan, and, now that a much larger tract of country was to be made over in full sovereignty to the British Government, it was proposed to extend this system, and to increase the amount to be paid to the Bhutias from 25,000 Rs progressively, in 3 years, to 50,000 Rs during the good conduct of the Bhutia Government

"Her Majesty's Government have fully considered the reasons which have induced your Excellency to adopt this course

"Although the British Government had no desire to extend its frontiers by taking possession of the Duars, it was necessary that you should mark your sense of the misconduct of the Bhutia rulers in the most palpable and lasting manner, and still more was it necessary for the due protection of the inhabitants of the British provinces on the borders of Bhutan, and also of the people of Sikhim and Kuch Bihar, that, after the experience of so many years of rapine, the Duars should be occupied by the British Government But it was not necessary, and I concur in opinion with your Excellency's Government that it was not desirable, to impoverish the Bhutan State, by absorbing the entire revenues of the country which you had determined to annex, and which yielded a large part of the public income of Bhutan To have alienated from its former Government the whole of those revenues would have seriously weakened the power of the Bhutan authorities, and this might have led to a continuance of the anarchy within the territories of the Bhutia Rajas, and those continual maraudings and depredations across the frontiers, which have rendered necessary the intervention of your Government The existence

of a strong Government in the neighbouring States, and the prosperity of their subjects, are among the best securities for the permanent peace of our frontiers. To deprive the Government of a contiguous country of the means of enforcing its authority over its chiefs and functionaries and of compelling them to execute the engagements which it has entered into for the maintenance of the peace and security of our frontier can in no case be sound policy In this view it would not be advisable to impair the resources of the Bhutan State to the extent that must have resulted from the abstraction of the entire revenues of the Duars

"Moreover as the arrangement into which you have entered provides for the non payment of the stipulated sums in the event of any infraction of the terms of the Treaty or any acts hostile to the peace and security of the British frontier you will hold in your hands a material guarantee of the most stringent kind for the good conduct of the Bhutan Government and for the due observance of the treaty

"Her Majesty's Government are therefore of opinion that what your Excellency describes as your liberal treatment of the Bhutias is equally sound as a measure of policy and is more likely to conduce to the great objects of an enduring peace and the protection of the inhabitants of the frontier country than the infliction of any severer measure of punishment upon the existing rulers of Bhutan and they fully approve of the course which you have adopted in treating with the Bhutan Government upon the basis described

Your despatch further states, that execution of the Treaty was to depend upon the actual delivery of the British guns, for which a separate engagement had been signed, a period of [illegible] months being allowed for their surrender. In the event of their not being given up within that time military operations in conjunction with the Deb and Dharm Rajas were to be undertaken for the purpose of compelling the Tongso Penlow to surrender them. Your Excellency however was of opinion that the Rajas were thoroughly in earnest and it was believed by your

"The practice of hook-swinging and other self-torture, such as *ban phora* and the like, in public at the *Charak* festival, which has been either voluntarily discontinued or authoritatively suppressed in most parts of India, still prevails in many districts of the Lower Provinces of Bengal.

These practices are cruel to those who suffer hurt from them, whether of their own will or otherwise, and revolting to humanity. They also present a demoralising public spectacle, and tend to keep alive among the people a feeling of indifference to the sufferings of their fellow creatures and to the value of human life. They have long been discountenanced and discouraged by the Government and its officers, as well as by the more enlightened, intelligent, and respectable Hindus. An influential body of Hindu gentlemen has lately recommended that they shall be suppressed; and one of the Hindu members of the Council of the Lieutenant-Governor has still more recently brought forward a project of law for that purpose.

The measures which have hitherto been taken to discourage hook-swinging, though partially successful, have in many places failed to produce any perceptible diminution of it, and it accords therefore, with the instructions given in the despatch of Her Majesty's Secretary of State for India, dated the 24th February 1859, that more decided steps should be taken. In now adopting such a step the Lieutenant Governor is supported, not only by a sense of what is due to the feelings of all classes of Her Majesty's subjects, but by a decided expression of enlightened opinion on the part of the leading members of the Hindu community.

All Magistrates of districts in the Lower Provinces are accordingly hereby required, under the powers vested in them by law—whenever they shall consider that such direction is necessary to prevent annoyance to persons lawfully employed or danger to human life, health, or safety—to direct any person to abstain from the act of hook-swinging or other self-torture, in public, and from the abetment thereof, or take such order with property in his possession or under his management as may serve to prevent the commission of the act. Persons who disobey any such injunction should be prosecuted and punished according to law.

All Commissioners of Divisions and Magistrates of districts in which hook-swinging prevails are further required to make known to the public that the Government regards the practice with abhorrence; to enlist the sympathy and co-operation of influential landholders and other members of the native community in its prevention; and to warn all who are concerned, or are likely to be concerned in it, that if they persevere they will make themselves liable to legal punishment.

It is to be understood that this order is not intended to authorize or justify any interference with the religious observances of the *Charak* festival, or with the popular amusements other than hook swinging and its attendant cruelties, usual on that occasion

The result of these orders in Calcutta and its suburbs was most successful no cases of hook swinging occurred in the town itself and only 3 instances came to light in the suburbs

Forest

During 1864 the Government of India laid the foundation of a system of forest administration for all India, to provide for the careful conservation of Government forests their preservation from wanton or unscientific destruction and the proper development of this part of the resources of the country To carry out the scheme in a satisfactory manner it was necessary to place a special officer in charge of the forests under the Bengal Government and the Superintendent of the Calcutta Botanic Garden was appointed Conservator of Forests in all the districts of Bengal His attention was directed first to British Sikkim (which had 108,000 acres of forest land) and then to Assam It was recognised that there were forest lands belonging to Government in Dacca Chittagong and Cuttack also some forests in Palamau in Chota Nagpur and in the Rajmahal hills Special measures were ordered by Sir C. Beadon to be adopted for the protection of the forests around Darjeeling at an elevation of above 6,000 feet where the wholesale felling of timber which had followed the introduction

tral jails having been affirmed by the Prison Committee of 1864—each under the superintendence of a qualified medical officer in professional as well as general charge Regard being had to the extent of the criminal population and to the limitation of the number to be confined in each central jail to 1000 as the maximum, it was found that, in order to accommodate all prisoners sentenced to rigorous imprisonment for 1 year or upwards, besides the Alipore jail, which it was proposed to convert into a central jail, for the confinement of long term prisoners from the 24-*Parganas*, Calcutta, Howrah, and Hooghly, 8 others would be required For these the following positions were selected, and sanctioned by the Government of India —1 Deega 2 Bhagalpur 3 Hazaribagh 4 Krishnagar 5 Rampur Boalia 6 Dacca 7 Midnapore 8 Tezpur It was proposed that these prisons should be built upon the radiating plan adopted in the Lahore and Meerut jails, and that sleeping accommodation in separate cells should be provided for the total number of convicts (1,000) which each jail was intended to contain To each jail was to be attached a garden of sufficient extent, not only to furnish the whole supply of fresh vegetables necessary for the prisoners but to afford the means of giving every convict his turn of work in the open air, to counteract the scorbutic tendency of strict intramural confinement and occupation Jails thus constituted and placed under the sole charge of medical officers specially selected for the duty would, it was hoped, prove self-supporting, an expectation fully warranted by the results given by the Alipore jail All the central jails thus contemplated were not constructed immediately in 1868 the Government of India noticed the unnecessary delay which had occurred in their construction, and attributed it to the irreconcilable differences of opinion among high authorities in the local jail department at the same time they wrote of "the very worst of our jails, those of Lower Bengal" In 1868-69 the commencement of the construction of 4 central jails at Deega, Bhagalpur, Hazaribagh, Midnapore was authorized

Canals

Sir C Beadon interested himself greatly in the development of canals A contract was entered into in June 1862, between the Secretary of State and the East India Irrigation and Canal Company for the execution of certain canals for irrigation and navigation and of works connected therewith in the

province of Orissa. In 1864 the Lieutenant Governor sanctioned the project for the section of the Kendrapara Canal from the Beropa branch of the Mahanadi opposite to Cuttack to Attabua on the Nuna branch of the Mahanadi. General approval was also accorded to the first section of a high level canal in the Cuttack district extending from the left bank of the river Beropa, near the village of Chowdwar, to the right bank of the Brahmini river, as well as to projects for the canal from Uluberia on the Hooghly river to Midnapore on the Cossye river, called the "Midnapore Canal," and for the canal from Gonilpur on the Rupnarain river to Balasore, called the "Balasore Canal." A contract with the East India Irrigation and Canal Company for irrigation works to be carried out in Bihar in connection with the river Sone and within the limits of a scheme submitted to Government by Lieutenant Colonel C. H. Dickens, R.A., some years before, was concluded during the year.* The date for the submission by the company of their proposed scheme of works under this contract was fixed at 1st January 1866. Both the projects, the Orissa project for the construction of a system of canals to comprise almost all the rivers between the Hooghly and the Madras frontier, and the Bihar project for building an anicut across the Sone at Dehri and constructing canals in Western Bihar, were transferred from private companies to Government on the 1st January 1867.

consideration was seriously dealt with The Municipal Engineer had contemplated drawing it from Cossipore, but this project was abandoned after reports received from the Chemical Examiner to Government that the intake should not be below Barrackpore, owing to tidal influences and the impurity of the river at and near Calcutta The Sanitary Commissioner also applied pressure on the Municipality, advocating a scheme for bringing impure water to Calcutta through an open channel to be there filtered A new scheme was proposed by the Municipal Engineer, having for its object the conveyance of filtered water by a covered aqueduct leading from filters at Palta, above Barrackpore, which, after some discussion, and testing of the water received in 1865 the sanction of the Lieutenant-Governor The net cost of the work was estimated at nearly 52 *lakhs*, and the annual charges at 5 *lakhs*, the latter amount it was settled to meet by the imposition of a water-rate of 3 percent on the rental of holdings

Union of offices of Chairman of the Justices and Commissioner of Police

The offices of Commissioner of Police and Chairman of the Justices were united during the year, under Act VI (B C) of 1863 It appeared to the Lieutenant-Governor that the fusion of the 2 offices was really necessary for the purpose of strengthening the executive authority in carrying out the Municipal law, and of preventing a collision between the Municipality and the police With the sanction of the Government of India, the Chairman of the Justices was appointed Commissioner of Police, and charged with its general discretion and control, its immediate and detailed administration being placed in the hands of a Deputy Commissioner

The Wahabi conspiracy

During the progress and at the close of the Mulka and Sittana campaign in 1863, it was discovered that supplies, both of men and money, had been regularly forwarded to the so-called Wahabi fanatics of those places from within British territory The inquiries set on foot by the Panjab Government proved that there existed an extensive conspiracy among a certain Muhammadan sect in Lower Bengal, formed for the purpose of aiding what was held to be a religious war against the British Government, this sect had persistently and liberally supplied the hostile frontier tribes and communities with the means of carrying on the struggle then pending The measures adopted in consequence of this dis-

covery by the Governments of the Panjab and Bengal led to the arrest of 11 persons implicated in the conspiracy who were tried at Umballa and sentenced to various terms of imprisonment Of these 5 were residents of that district 5 of the city of Patna and the eleventh of Kumarkhali a town in the district of Pabna (now in Nadia) It was suspected that the prime mover of the conspiracy in Lower Bengal was a Muhammadan named Ahmedulla of good position in Patna who had been employed by Government in a situation of trust Further inquiry made this complicity quite clear and he was accordingly arrested tried and sentenced by the High Court to transportation for life

A full report regarding the state of affairs in Patna and the measures adopted for the suppression of the conspiracy by the Government of Bengal was laid before the Government of India in 1865-66 The conviction of the guilty parties placed a considerable amount of real and personal property at the disposal of Government and it was determined that all the escheated property both within and without the city of Patna, should be sold and the proceeds applied to purposes of public improvement in the city and district Descriptive lists of such Wahabi agents as became known to the officers conducting the inquiry were forwarded to all Magistrates and instructions given to watch them

remainder An offer was made, in the height of the speculative mania of 1864, by Mr F Schiller, of the firm of Borradaile, Schiller & Co who was also Vice Chairman of the Port Canning Municipality, as reconstituted under Act III (B C) of 1864, to subscribe a sum of 2½ *lakhs* to the Canning Municipal Debenture Loan, if certain concessions were granted to him with a view to enable him, with the aid of a Company, named "the Port Canning Land Investment Reclamation and Dock Company", to be formed by him, to construct docks, tramways etc, for the improvement of the town The proposal having been accepted by Sir C Beadon the following concessions were made to the Company, viz, (1) the gift in freehold of 100 acres of ground in the centre of the town, (2) the exclusive right of constructing tramways in such directions as might be required by the Municipality for a period of 50 years, and (3) in consideration of their undertaking the conservancy of the river bank for a period of 50 years, the right of constructing wharves and jetties and such landing and shipping facilities as might be required, and of levying such tolls in connection therewith as might be sanctioned by the Municipal Commissioners The Company were to excavate within 2 years a dock for the reception of country boats, not less than 2,500 feet by 200 feet in width and 10 feet in depth No work was to be undertaken by the Company or their assignees without the approval of the Commissioners In return for these concessions the Municipal Commissioners were to obtain an immediate subscription of 2½ *lakhs* to the Municipal Loan, and also the prospect of sharing in the profits accruing from the works intended to be carried out when the returns exceeded 10 per cent on the capital invested, and the right of repurchasing the works after the 50 years for which the concessions were to be granted The Government, in assenting to these concessions, added a condition that, should the docks and other works not be completed within 2 years, or such further period as might be allowed by the Municipal Commissioners, or should the land be at any time diverted to purposes other than those for which it was granted, it should lapse to the Commissioners

The Company commenced operations vigorously It was found however that the sums raised from the public and the Port Canning Company were not sufficient for the works in hand The Municipa-

lity thereupon applied for a loan of 4½ *lakhs* which Sir C Beadon supported on general grounds connected with the interest of Government in the success of the scheme and it was granted on certain securities on the ground of the public and mercantile community having subscribed over 60 *lakhs* of rupees to the Company for similar purposes. This transaction was completed in May 1866 *In 1866-67 measures were in rapid progress to improve Port Canning as a Port by light ships buoys and screw moorings*

were to be made to other parties within the year allowed to Mr Schiller

While these questions were pending, leases of the forest products of the unallotted portion of the Sundarbans were put up to auction in convenient blocks, for terms of 5 years, with a reservation to Government of the power to cancel any lease on giving 6 months' notice, and all these blocks, with the exception of 6 were, for want of higher bidders knocked down to the Port Canning Company Subsequently, on the grant of the entire tract of unallotted Sundarbans being promised to Mr Schiller on behalf of a new Sundarbans Reclamation Company which he was about to form, 6 months' notice of cancellation was given to the Port Canning Company as required by the terms of their lease The formation of the new Company being afterwards temporarily postponed, the Government of India wrote that " it will be no more than just and equitable to allow the notice to remain inoperative, and to permit the lease of the forest products to run on for the present, in the expectation that Mr Schiller will form a Company to whom the unappropriated Sundarbans will be granted " or that, if necessary, a fresh lease should be given, sufficiently guarded by a clause enabling Government without question to re-enter on possession on 6 months' notice

But in 1868-69, as numerous complaints had been received of oppressions committed by the servants of the Company on wood-cutters and others, and inquiry clearly established that the monopoly was mischievous and hostile to public interests, Government asserted its right and terminated the lease, by giving notice to the Company

A suggestion was made by Mr Schiller that the Sundarbans should be formed into a separate district with Port Canning as *Sadar* Station, but this idea found no favour with Government The whole scheme of Reclamation of the Sundarbans, launched in the height of the speculative mania of 1864, resulted in nothing beyond wild speculation in shares

Calcutta Wet Docks—Port Trust

A Committee summoned by the Government of India reported on the junction of the East Indian and Eastern Bengal Railways, on the formation of Wet Docks in Calcutta, and on other matters concerned with the convenience of the trade and shipping of Calcutta In regard to the formation of a Trust to carry out the measures of improvement

offences of all classes before the Courts of Session in all parts of the Lower Provinces ought to be by Jury, and that the system could be generally adopted without prejudice to the administration of criminal justice, and would be attended with decided benefit to the Courts, and increased confidence of the public in their judgments.

The High Court on the contrary maintained, in their Annual Report on Criminal Justice for 1866, that the working of the system in the 7 regulation districts in which it had been already introduced had not been so successful as to warrant its extension to other places at present.

In 1865-67 some Hindu practices came prominently under the notice of Government An article appeared in a native newspaper, the *Dacca Prokash*, condemnatory of the Hindu practice of taking sick people to the river side to die, which was believed to hasten or even to cause many deaths (and was often termed "*ghat* murder"), inquiries were made to ascertain the prevailing feeling of the Hindu community on the subject, and the expediency or otherwise of Government interfering to put a stop to the custom The information obtained showed that the practice was confined to the districts bordering on the river Ganges, from the confluence of the great Gandak opposite Patna to the defluence of the Bhagirathi below Rajmahal, and thence along the course of the Bhagirathi by Calcutta to the sea, that the orthodox Hindus drew a distinction between *gangajatra*, the practice of taking sick persons to the river-side to die, and *antarjali*, that of immersing the lower half of the body of the sick or dying person in the water of the river, (the latter practice being not enjoined by the Shastras as absolutely indispensable, though believed to carry with it a certain promise of salvation,) and that the educated portion of the Hindu community considered the whole ceremony repulsive, though they did not wish that the Government should interfere with it The conclusion arrived at, on these premises, by Sir C Beadon was that, though it was not expedient absolutely to prohibit either practice at present, the Government could no longer ignore its responsibility for taking some measures to discourage them openly, and also to regulate them by requiring that in every such case a notice should be given to the police of the intention to carry a sick person to the river-side to die, such notice being in the form of a declaration signed by the nearest

Hindu practices,—moribunds—

relatives of the sick man to the effect that there was no reasonable hope of his recovery It was suggested that where practicable this should be accompanied by a certificate to the same effect from the medical attendant of the sick person. The Government of India however though wishing to see the practice discontinued was not *prepared to say that it was desirable to legislate specially for its re*pression, and particularly by recourse to the highly preventive measure of a compulsory notice to the police The Secretary of State agreed with the Government of India

In 1855 the Maharaja of Burdwan presented a petition to the

structions to mature a scheme which would put a stop to the evils complained of without on the one hand, affecting the general liberty possessed by all Hindus of taking more than one wife, or on the other giving express sanction to that liberty by a legislative enactment The report of the Committee was submitted in February 1867 The Kulin Brahmins being the class to whom the excesses complained of were almost exclusively confined, (and chiefly to the Bhongho Kulins) the Committee gave a sketch of the origin of this denomination of Brahmins and of the various classes of Kulins existing at the time They also enumerated the customs prevalent, from which the alleged abuses (which they believed to be exaggerated and on the decline) took their rise They further proved very clearly that these customs had for the most part no warrant among the approved authorities of Hindu Theology Thus far, in the opinion of the Committee, the path for legislation was smooth enough, as a declaratory Act might be passed setting forth the law on the subject of polygamy and making any infraction of it penal But the report further showed that, although the chief abuses of polygamy would be condemned by a reference to the authorized Hindu law, this law at the same time warranted the suppression of one wife and the contraction of subsequent marriages on many grounds which in the eye of English law were frivolous or untenable. They therefore pointed out that, owing to the restriction imposed upon them that legal sanction to polygamy was not to be conveyed, they were unable to recommend even the passing of a declaratory Act of the kind stated above

One member of the Committee, the Pandit Ishwar Chandra Surma (Vidyasagar) maintained his opinion that the evils were not greatly exaggerated, and that the decrease of these evils was not sufficient to do away with the necessity of legislation His opinion also was that a Declaratory Law might be passed without interfering with that liberty which the Hindus possessed in the matter of marriage Sir C Beadon regarded the report of the Committee as showing the impossiblity of legislating under the conditions imposed by the Government of India, while it gave a deplorable picture of the state of the Hindu marriage law, to which sooner or later a remedy must be applied. He did not share the sanguine anticipations entertained by the native members of the Committee that the Kulin Brahmins would settle into a monogamous habit only by the force of

education and social opinion He received with satisfaction their testimony that the opinion of Hindus had undergone a remarkable change within the last few years and that the custom of taking a plurality of wives as a means of subsistence had come to be marked with strong disapprobation, and he hoped that, with the further progress of these enlightened ideas the necessity for legislation as the effectual means of giving them full effect would at no distant time be realized.

the Gazette, as follows —"There is scarcely a member of the entier Christian community throughout India who will not feel the premature loss of this Prelate as a personal affliction It has rarely been given to any body of Christians in any country to witness such depth of learning and variety of accomplishment, combined with piety so earnest and energy so untiring His Excellency in Council does not hesitate to add the expression of his belief that large numbers even among those of Her Majesty's subjects in India who did not share in the faith of the Bishop of Calcutta, had learned to appreciate his great knowledge his sincerity, and his charity, and will join in lamenting his death"

The Secretary of State (Lord Cranborne, afterwards Marquis of Salisbury received the melancholy intelligence with deep concern, and added—"The loss of a Prelate who discharged the duties of his high office with such zeal, devotedness, charity, and sound judgment, cannot fail to be sensibly felt both by the Government with which he was connected, and by the Diocese over which he presided and I have to express my entire concurrence in the sentiments recorded by your Government

Indigo disputes in Tirhut

The indigo question, which had subsided in the Nadia and Jessore districts, came up again in Bihar Some disputes arose during the year 1866-67 with regard to the cultivation of indigo between the *raiyats* and the managers of the Pandoul factory, in the Darbhanga estate, in Tirhut Though the question only came seriously to a head in one concern yet the reports of the local officers, the general anxiety among planters, the number of petitions submitted, and the agitation of the native Press showed that the crisis was a dangerous one, requiring to be carefully watched The principal points at issue were as follows The factory maintained that in addition to the *nizabad* indigo lands, or lands undoubtedly in possession of the factory and cultivated by factory ploughs, there were in every village other lands equally in the possession of the factory which were cultivated in indigo for the factory by the *raiyats*, and in respect of which the *raiyats* were not cultivators of indigo in their own lands for the factory under contract, but merely hired labourers cultivating *ziraat* lands on behalf of the factory and receiving wages in return The *raiyats*, on the other hand, asserted that the lands thus described were not factory

zirat but formed part of their own proper holdings; that the factory people prevented them from cultivating these with cereals and other crops which paid them better than Indigo, by falsely claiming these lands as *zirat* and accusing the *raiyats* of criminal trespass when they attempted to cultivate them in the manner they liked best that they were also very much oppressed by their ploughs and plough bullocks being taken away from them during the manufacturing season for the purposes of the factory and that while the factory leased villages from the Darbhanga estate on the same rent as before the rates levied from the *raiyats* had been considerably enhanced by the introduction of a system of sub letting the villages to the factory servants who were rapacious in their demands The result of these differences was that the *raiyats* of a number of villages who had been in the habit of cultivating Indigo for the factory under the conditions current in all Tirhut and who had this year up to the occurrence of the disputes been engaged in preparing the lands for indigo suddenly united in refusing either to finish the preparation of the lands or to allow the factory to do so and this led to collisions with the planters servants which however were not of a serious character

and to the compromise of many of the pending suits The necessity of increasing the rates paid for indigo was recognised by several of the Tirhut planters and the Pandoul *raiyats* came to terms with the factory. In connection with the system of sub-lettings, and its attendant evils, which obtained in the Pandoul concern, which held most of its lands in farm from the estate of the minor Raja of Darbhanga, (then under the management of the Court of Wards), an inquiry was made into the entire question of the relation subsisting between the farmers and *raiyats* in that estate The policy of Sir C Beadon throughout these indigo troubles was to encourage an amicable settlement in every way in his power instead of forcing questions to a head and having a repetition of the Bengal troubles to deal with

The Orissa and Bihar Famine

Before the Orissa Famine of 1866-67 is treated more fully, the following extract from the condensed report of the Famine Commission of 1878 may be quoted, as containing the main facts "This drought (of 1865) fell with far greater intensity on Orissa in Bengal, where, as no such calamity had occurred in the whole province for nearly a century, it had to be dealt with by a body of officials necessarily ignorant of the signs of its approach, unprepared to expect it, and inexperienced in the administration of relief measures, nor were the native inhabitants of Orissa in any respect more aware of what was coming on them than the British officers The area most affected was about 12,000 square miles, with a population of about 4,000,000 The rainfall of 1865 was scanty and ceased prematurely, so that the out-turn of the great crop of winter rice, on which the country mainly depends, was reckoned at less than a third of the average crop Food stocks were low, both because export had been unusually brisk of late, and because the people had not been taught by precarious seasons to protect themselves by retaining sufficient stores at home When the harvest failed, so totally new to them was the situation that no one realised its meaning and its probable results The Local Government and officials not taking alarm and misconceiving the gravity of the occasion abstained from making special inquiries, prices long remained so moderate that they offered no temptation to importers, and forced no reduction in consumption on the inhabitants, till suddenly the province was found to be almost bare of food. It was

doubt enormous. It had undoubtedly been so great among the old and the young of so many families which had escaped total destruction, and in so many parts the great mass of the labouring population seemed to have been really so much swept from the face of the earth, that the Commissioners could not say that the estimate of ¼ was too high, even in parts which had not suffered from the floods of 1866. The Orissa Famine was the most intense India had seen. It stood almost alone in this that there was (till a comparatively late period) almost no importation and the people, shut up in a narrow province between pathless jungles and an impracticable sea, were in the condition of passengers in a ship without provisions. Money was spurned as worthless. Prices were constantly merely nominal where rice was to be bought at all, it reached the rate of 5, 4, and even 3 Calcutta *seers* (of 2 lbs each) per rupee at the chief stations where the external relief afforded was greatest, and in the interior of the districts still higher rates were reported, even to 1 *seer* per rupee. The rates were far beyond those known in any recorded famine of the century. It was quite impossible to distinguish between the mortality directly caused by starvation, and that due to disease, directly or indirectly, connected with starvation, want, and bad food. Not only was there an absence of statistics but in truth want and disease ran so much into one another that no statistics and no observations would suffice to draw an accurate line. The testimony was universal that the calamity of the famine fell with by far the greatest severity on the workers for wages, the agricultural labourers, coolies, and small artizans, especially, among the latter, on the weavers, already plying a declining trade. The advantage possessed by all the classes having any sort of rights in the land was remarkable. Not only had they better means and better credit than the labouring classes, but, being to a considerable extent in the habit of keeping grain for home consumption, those who had crops of some kind were better provided than the non-agricultural classes, when grain was not to be bought. The Commissioners found no one who shared the opinion of Sir C. Beadon, that the greatest mortality in Orissa was caused by the floods in the latter part of the season. The floods were altogether a secondary cause of the mortality in 1866, although undoubtedly, in extensive tracts, it was considerably increased by that cause.

So early as 10th October 1865 there was an alarming report from the south of Puri. When the 20th passed without rain the country was in a panic the rice trade was stopped the country ceased to supply the towns at both Cuttack and Puri the bazars were closed and everywhere the alarm and inconvenience were extreme

The police of the Puri district and a native Deputy Magistrate gave a very gloomy account of things in October speaking of 'impending famine' Mr Barlow who had been staying at Cuttack with Mr Ravenshaw returned to Puri and on 8th November addressed the Commissioner in a tone far from sanguine He subsequently reported extreme distress in 2 areas near the Chilka Lake and expressed the fear that it would spread Mr Barlow seems at this time to have recommended the importation of a ship-load of grain to the Mallood coast The Commissioner did not support the recommendation considering it the duty of the *zamindars* to relieve the distress but he asked for permission to relieve distress in the neighbouring Government estates. On the 26th October Mr Muspratt enclosed a petition from certain *zamindars* praying for time to pay the revenue on the grounds that the crops were ruined that the *raiyats* unable to get advances could not pay their rents that the *raiyats* had blindly disposed of all their produce and kept no stock for the current year owing to excessive exportation of the

Mr Ravenshaw was inclined to take a more sanguine view than the Collectors "Don't let the people get downhearted," he said, "even with half a crop there ought not to be a famine Get the people to help themselves, a somewhat difficult matter in Orissa, but there is nothing like trying" To Balasore he wrote—"I have no doubt there is more rice in your district than you imagine, and further that the crops of the current year will suffice for the year's supply" On the 27th October he wrote of combination among the dealers, and was "informed that large stores are in their hands", there was "nothing in the prospect of the crop to warrant apprehension of total absence of food" He reported in no less sanguine terms to the Board of Revenue and Government and was to a great extent supported in his opinion by the majority of those about him in Cuttack The Government of Bengal sent Mr Ravenshaw's letters of 22nd and 27th October to the Board, and requested them "to report specially on the present state of the crops and markets and the prospects of the country throughout the Lower Provinces," and "to suggest any measures by which it may appear to them the Government can aid with advantage with a view to mitigate the effects of the present scarcity" Although the crop did not ordinarily fully ripen till December, the Board made their Report in November on information scarcely extending to the middle of that month, and that information was, as was avowed, "very imperfect" The Government of Bengal, on the 11th December, approved of what the Board had done, and concurred generally in the opinions expressed The provision of Public Works was to be considered in that department Permission was given to expend money in estates belonging to or in charge of Government for relief of the helpless poor and by giving employment to those willing and able to work, but otherwise unable to obtain work Every endeavour was to be made to induce the landholders to do the same Relief Committees were recommended in districts where distress prevailed "It is on the exercise of private liberality, His Honour believes, that in an emergency of this kind the chief dependency must be placed"

On receipt of the orders of Government the Board circulated their Report and the Government reply to all the revenue officers, as "an easily accessible record of the principles upon which the Government considers itself at liberty to afford assistance in times of

search" and this use of the Report gave it its greatest significance and importance. The means of mitigating the suffering expected and even famine if it unexpectedly supervened as laid down by the Board were—*the publication of official prices current* the provision of labour for the poor by public works a liberal expenditure on Government estates and the use of every possible means to induce the landholders to follow the example As the chief if not the only reliance in more extreme cases local private liberality was to be exercised through local relief committees. Whatever might be the merits or demerits of these principles they were laid before the Supreme Government in India and Government in England and were published at the time without eliciting expressions of disapprobation. The unfortunate mistake seems to have been made of supposing the distress to be confined to a very isolated and limited space and no general Report regarding the state of any of the districts of Orissa or of any other of the districts was then called for No clear rules defining the functions of the Board and Government existed. The Board's Report and the reply of Government were the Commissioners thought calculated to impress the local officers as follows—that the facts regarding the crops so far as ascertained were not such as to justify the expectation of severe and widespread famine that Government would not interfere directly but must leave the ordinary laws of trade to work a remedy and could only assist in the employment of the labouring classes and in respect of estates directly in the hands of Government that there should therefore be no expectation that Government would attempt general assistance and that even in case of actual famine the chief if not only reliance must be on local private liberality

of Orissa repeated their pressing requests for remission of revenue, and were supported by the Collectors Mr Barlow sent out officers to make inquiries, as he could only say that by report it was understood that the losses in some *parganas* had been very heavy On this occasion the Commissioner sanctioned inquiry and report in special cases of extreme loss, on the understanding that no promise or expectation of remission was to be given The Board negatived the application of the Collector of Puri in very decided terms They regretted that the Commissioner had instructed the Collector to enter upon any investigation of claims of *zamindars* to remission, as such inquiries tended to raise expectations which, not being realised, must result in discontent and disaffection No remissions were to be granted, and all hope of receiving any were to be positively barred Thereupon Mr Ravenshaw desired the Collector to observe that the Board had disapproved of the permission even to satisfy himself of actual loss in *zamindari* estates, expressed his entire concurrence in the orders, directed the Collector to consider them final and conclusive and to cancel his proceedings, and circulated the orders The Famine Commissioners thought that the Board were not justified in passing these decided orders Their own orders of a few months previous distinctly recognised the claim to remission on account of *general* calamities of season, and there was certainly no ground for assuming that the failure of 1865 in Orissa, and more especially in Puri, did not amount to a general calamity The effect of the orders necessarily was to stop all inquiries in whatever form and with whatever object It did so stop them Mr Barlow at once desired the officers making inquiries to discontinue operations, the result of the partial inquiries already made was never reported, and the extent to which the crops had failed and the consequent failure of the supply of food on which the population had to rely, were not made known to the higher authorities

On 3rd December Mr Ravenshaw suggested the formation of Relief Committees and meetings were called He then went away on a tour for 2 months in the Tributary *Mahals* Weekly returns of prices were called for from the districts of Bengal On the one hand, the Board seem to have placed an almost superstitious reliance on them as a panacea for all evils, and, on the other, their accuracy was much questioned Supposing the tables to have been reliable, the

Board hardly made consistent use of their own materials and their own principles. Prices in districts of cheap grain and low wages were too much judged by a metropolitan standard and were on that basis supposed to be reasonable when they were really extreme in relation to the ordinary local prices allowance was not sufficiently made for the cheapening at harvest time and the invariable enhancement as the season proceeds; and even prices rose to rates more and more distinctly famine from February to May both Government and the Board deserting their own principles of political economy acquiesced in the explanation that the rates were no true index of the supply and that the dealers were only combining to hold back stocks with a view to artificial enhancement of prices The price varied from an average in the 3 districts of Orissa of 12 *seers* per rupee at the end of October and 13⅝ *seers* on 1st January 1866 to 4⅝ on 13th August and 14½ on 5th November For the space of 5 months in the best supplied markets and those most aided by Government sales the price of food supplied in a very intermittent way ranged from 5 to 10 times the ordinary or average rate In the interior of the districts food was generally not to be procured for money and, when sold ranged up to about 35 times the ordinary price

the salt, and partly in the hope that the vessels employed would bring back rice Finally works for the employment of the distressed were sanctioned Eventually, however, the rice was not sent. Mr Barlow went out to land the rice the people even assembled to eat it, but it never came A sum of Rs 5,000 was sanctioned from the Government estates improvement fund to give employment to the poor The only instance of private liberality on a larger scale was that of the *zamindar* of Parikud—a man of very limited means On the 19th December Government issued orders for the prosecution of the road works proposed for the relief of the distressed population

After touring in the most affected part of the south-western portion of his district Mr Barlow on the 29th December submitted a full Report, containing details of an extremely distressing character He seemed to have felt bound to be very careful not to exaggerate or too highly colour his picture, but, nevertheless, he gave his "revised opinion as to the prospective condition of the people" in the brief words of a previous telegram—"Destitution general and complete," adding, "it is that to which I most distinctly hold" Nothing could have been more active or devoted than his action Mr Ravenshaw forwarded his report and somewhat restrained his zeal In January rice was not to be had in any quantities in the Puri district Mr Barlow, on the 15th wrote to the Executive Engineer with reference to the proposal for purchasing food for the labourers, and spoke of "a danger likely to interfere materially with, if not actually put a stop to, the works," *viz*, the want of food He showed that, while as yet but 300 persons employed near the town made great complaints of the difficulty of procuring grain, and expressed great anxiety to receive their wages in kind instead of money, when the numbers increased, and the distance from the town became greater, supplies would not be procurable, since "it is one of the features observable in the famine" that "the city is the only place where a certain supply (small though it be) of grain is to be found, while in various parts of the interior none at all is procurable" He went on—"the difficulty foreseen must be met, since under no circumstances whatever must this opportunity of relief, which the liberality of Government has provided through your department, be allowed to fail or become crippled, whether it be

from want of energy or fear of responsibility, and he proceeded to give details of a plan for purchasing and storing grain the Public Works to advance money with which he would import rice and deliver it at the works. The Executive Engineer received the proposition in the best spirit the Superintending Engineer though zealous in the cause thought the proposal that his department should advance funds for rice quite contrary to the orders which he had received And the order was decisively conveyed on the 26th January by the Secretary Public Works Department, under instructions of Sir C Beadon in the following terms — Your proceedings in refusing advance approved This department cannot have any concern with providing rice This led the Famine Commissioners to remark—the higher we go the greater seemed to be the respect for the departmental rules usually called red tape On the same day 26th January the Board told the Commissioner that the Lieutenant Governor did not approve of the payment *in kind* of the wages of the labourers and that they were to be paid in cash and only so much should be paid as would provide food sufficient to sustain the labourer and his family in health. The order was carried out to the great detriment of the local measures of relief Sir C Beadon did not recollect that it was brought to his personal notice and stated that if his attention had been attracted to the matter he would certainly have disapproved of it There seems in fact in this whole matter to have been an unfortunate misunderstanding between the Public Works and the Revenue Departments which lasted for months in fact till the full outbreak of the famine and produced very injurious consequences

Mr Ravenshaw returned to Cuttack from his tour on the 31st January A critical time had arrived and he despatched that very day the following telegram of a very important and emergent character to the Board Famine relief is at a standstill Public Works Department refuse to advance money to Collectors to purchase rice [illegible] rice from elsewhere May I and [illegible] advance for this purpose for Cuttack Balasore or Puri The [illegible] answer of the [illegible] February was decisive "The Government [illegible] Pooree If the market favours import [illegible] [illegible] in the rice which

can only do harm All payments for labour employed to relieve the present distress are to be in cash" The result of that unfortunate telegram seemed to the Commissioners to have been to stifle and put an end to discussion regarding the importation of rice from that time till a period when the state both of the weather and of the people rendered it too late to import it with successful effect Mr Ravenshaw, accepting to the full the principle of action imposed on him, issued a series of orders in that sense He further disapproved of the issue of cooked food in relief Though many would not resort to relief centres for cooked food till the last extremity, the misery among the very poorest was never properly known till the offer of food brought out from their hiding-places the most miserable objects. Balasore presented terrible famine scenes long before the district was nearly so bad as Puri, and in Midnapore the existing misery was suddenly brought to knowledge when food was offered In Puri, while the distress was becoming deeper and the mortality greater day by day, it was not concentrated and brought to view by the distribution of food If the Relief Committee had been left to act as originally proposed, they might possibly have imported and distributed rice, and set an example which would have led to earlier measures on a large scale. On 10th February the correspondence regarding relief by supplying food ended, till it was afterwards revived in a terrible shape No further orders as to the payment for public works in grain were issued till June The works were rendered to a very great degree inoperative for want of rice to feed the labourers There was another cause of difficulty not peculiar to Orissa—the attempt to enforce task-works The Commissoners were decidedly of opinion that in the beginning of February 1866 the time had come when Government might properly have imported rice into the Puri district, and that the telegrams of Mr Crommelin and Mr Ravenshaw of the 24th and 31st January marked the point when either importation should have been ordered to render effective the public works contemplated for the relief of the starving, or special inquiry should have been made which, in all probability, would have brought to light the deficiency of grain and the necessity of importation for purposes still more extended If grain had been ordered for the works, they might have been immensely extended

Sir C Beadon's visit to Orissa in the middle of February

was a short one. Mr Cockburn, C.S., and Colonel Nicolls were of the party. It seemed to have been understood on the spot that the principal objects of the visit were to see the irrigation works at Cuttack and hold a *darbar* to receive the native chiefs and *zamindars*, but Sir C. Beadon stated that his objects were more general and that, as far as his visit had any specialty, it had reference to the famine. He made very little stay at Puri, having landed there one day and left for Cuttack the following evening. At Cuttack he remained from 15th to 19th (one day being a Sunday) and in that time he held a levee and a *darbar*, visited the public offices, &c., the Irrigation Company's works and anicuts one day and the Kendrapara canal another, was entertained at a banquet by the Irrigation Company, and was throughout most accessible to all classes. On the evening of the 19th he left for Calcutta, travelling by way of False Point. There seemed to have been an unfortunate misunderstanding throughout the visit, the effects of which were very serious. He stated that neither before nor during his visit did the special difficulty regarding the procuring of rice for the labourers, the opinions on the necessity of importing entertained by some of the local officers, nor the correspondence which had passed on the subject, come in any shape to his knowledge. It was clear that the local officers did not press the facts within their knowledge on Sir C. Beadon as they might and should have done. But, on the other hand, it was to be remembered that they had already received what they conceived to be decisive, peremptory and final orders. Mr Ravenshaw had accepted those orders in the fullest degree. He stated the idea of a general famine had not at that time entered his head, and though during Sir C. Beadon's visit the prevalent scarcity and general difficulty in procuring grain were common topics of discussion, and Sir C. Beadon spoke to him several times on the subject, he (Mr Ravenshaw) expressed an opinion that there were probably sufficient stocks of grain in the country and that, though it might be dear, it would be procurable for money. The [illegible] of [illegible] might possibly have thought [illegible] information in the presence of [illegible] the head of the [illegible] Public Works Department seemed to [illegible] been altogether [illegible]

on the subject The fact seemed to be that only officers of official boldness were likely to speak voluntarily under the circumstances, and the subordinate local officers did not seem to have had that boldness Of the written petitions presented to Sir C Beadon only one seemed distinctly to pray for provision for feeding the poor as its sole object Most of the others, while describing the distress forcibly enough, made it a ground for asking for remissions of revenue All were referred to the local authorities In Cuttack Sir C Beadon scarcely saw any other of the people than the urban population, and among them the great complaint certainly was against the grain dealers, the cry was 'cheaper rice, "fix a rate" In this shape the matter was principally noticed in His Honor's *darbar* speech, which was circulated He spoke of the calamitous effect of drought, and added—" Such visitations of Providence as these no Government can do much either to prevent or alleviate He explained that Government could never interfere with prices "If I were to attempt to do this, I should consider myself no better than a *dacoit* or thief The general effect of his speech was to create a very considerable feeling of disaffection The declarations which it contained seemed to have been taken by every one as a final exposition of the policy of Government not to interfere otherwise than by providing labour in the mode already arranged It seemed especially surprising that Sir C Beadon, placing the reliance which he did on public works as the means of relieving the acknowledged distress, should have left the province without discovering that there were circumstances which rendered those works quite ineffectual for the purpose After his return from Orissa, the question of importing grain into that province was the subject of discussion between him and the Viceroy The latter was strongly inclined to do so, but yielded to the opinion of Sir C Beadon and others that it was not expedient or necessary

Major-General Sir A Cotton, K C S I, R E in England, addressed the Secretary of State on "the immediate prospect of famine in Bengal" and urged means for preparing for and relieving it On 12th March 1866 the Government of India asked Sir C Beadon whether he considered it necessary for Government to take any further steps than those already authorised with a view to relieve and assist the people The Government of Bengal reported on the 28th March that there was no prospect of famine in Bengal, that in Orissa, where the

scarcity was greatest the wants of the people had been materially relieved by public works and those of the Irrigation Company, that the case was not so pressing as to justify Government in advancing money to the Company and that as to food there was no reason to suppose that the stock in the country is insufficient for the consumption of the people. There was one statement in the letter of the Bengal Government of the 28th March for which the Commissioners could not in any way account. It was this— the natural fluctuation of prices has been found sufficient to attract food to the district in which it was scarcest. This was certainly not the case.

After Sir C. Beadon's visit to the end of May the famine grew and spread throughout Orissa till it reached enormous proportions. The price of grain increased to more and more severe famine rates; it became scarcer and scarcer and starvation became more and more general. In April the price of the very coarsest rice reached 6½ Calcutta *seers* per rupee both in Puri and Cuttack —fully 5 times the average ordinary price of food; yet in the whole 3 months, from the middle of February to the middle of May public importation by Government was scarcely mentioned and never directly applied for in the local official reports. That subject seems to have been regarded as completely settled and disposed of. In Puri the District Superintendent's opinion of the probability of severe famine was reported to the Inspector General of Police. The native Deputy Magistrate wrote an appeal for help in the native papers of the 5th March. Mr Barlow wrote to Mr Schalch at Calcutta but the matter was dropped. At this time even he seemed to have resigned himself. The Commissioners said that, honestly accepting the policy and rules of action laid down for him, he threw himself heart and soul into the system of works and sanguinely hoped to mitigate the distress by these means. From the 30th March for nearly a week there was a dead blank—in fact an entire cessation of reports from Puri; and yet this was the period during which the famine was gradually a

want, and many must die, for matters are proceeding from bad to worse day by day.' Early in May, an extreme pitch of misery having been reached, Mr Barlow broke silence, in a series of long letters, giving full details. On the 9th May he addressed the papers. Mr Ravenshaw supported his views. On the 28th May the Government of Bengal, acknowledging the reports of Messrs. Barlow and Ravenshaw, said that the latter had been already informed that funds had been placed at the disposal of the Board for the relief of the distressed districts, and that a further sum had been placed at the disposal of the Public Works Department. No rice was sent by Government to the Puri district, though a grant of money was made. There had been no direct application for the importation of rice even at this time, although it was applied for from, and sent to, other districts. In Puri 2,445 persons were employed daily up to the end of May and the sum of Rs. 43,094 had been expended in public works.

In Balasore both starvation and plunder appeared before the middle of February. It was at this time said that ¾ of the starvelings came from the semi-independent and mismanaged Mohurbhunj estates. Later in the season, in May, the proportion was reversed, and nearly ¼ of those relieved at Balasore came from the neighbouring hill states. When a disturbance occurred in the Mohurbhunj country, Government telegraphed on the 13th April—"You had better go yourself to Mohurbhunj." Mr Ravenshaw thereupon left Balasore on the 20th April and the Division remained for upwards of a month without a local head. Sir C. Beadon left Calcutta for Darjeeling on the 15th April. Mr Ravenshaw was not aware of His Honor's intended departure and it unfortunately happened that Sir C. Beadon left before the exact state of Balasore had been fully communicated to him. No arrangement was made to ensure the immediate transmission of information, at this time, although both in the Police and the Public Works Departments and from other sources much crime, misery, and starvation had been reported. Although there was direct telegraphic communication, for some weeks the authorities in Calcutta were ignorant of the state of extreme famine so visible at Balasore. At the time of Sir C. Beadon's departure, no special arrangement was made with the Board. In the *Englishman* of the 24th April

appeared a somewhat modest appeal for aid from the Balasore Relief Committee saying little of the extent of the di tress. Government on the 23rd Mar approved generally of the measures adopted referred to the grant of money just made (Rs 10 000 from the North We t Famine Fund) and promised attention to the Cuttack road On the 12th Mav the Balasore Relief Committee made a more urgent appeal to the public press Just then came a telegram offer ing the surplus flour of the Bhutan Expedition at cost price And on thi hint Mr Musg ratt at last spoke out recommending importa tion of rice He replied—" Atta is not eaten in Balasore and no one would l uy it Rice required for free di tribution to about 3,000 arvin of all a e might be sent to the mouth of the Balasore ri er an l coul l be unladen l y aid of sloops of this port. He also wrote to Government to explain how sloops might be sent down in tow of a small teamer and added— The number of persons relieved daily now exceeds 2 500 and a more pitiable collection of skin an l bone it has never been my lot to see The Government referred Mr Mu g ratt proposal to import rice to the Board It was yet a few day before that body consented to import but at the

price Cuttack suffered more than any other station Rice was dearer for a short time at Balasore, but the extreme pressure of prices lasted for a longer period at Cuttack than at either Balasore or Puri On the 27th May Mr Ravenshaw returning found the troops and Government establishments on the point of starvation, and on the 28th he sent a telegram which led to importations On the 29th the Relief Committee also telegraphed to Government urgently praying for rice Up to this time there were no Government relief works in the Cuttack district but the works of the Irrigation Company afforded employment to vastly greater numbers than did the Government works in Puri The Commissioner spoke most highly of the humane endeavours of the officers of that Company to render their works beneficial to the destitute They employed 9,290 persons on an average in each of the 6 months ending June in the Cuttack district The native Deputy Magistrate s appeal from Puri, published in the *Hindu Patriot* early in March, did not specially attract public attention It was not till April, when the pressure of extreme high prices was felt at Cuttack, and the height of starvation was visible at Balasore, that the attention of the European press and public was fully aroused From the middle of April the subject began to be generally discussed in the public prints On the 12th the *Friend of India* published a letter from a missionary at Jellasore, a place in Balasore near the border of Midnapore, and not one of the earliest reached by famine The paper also alluded to accounts of famine received from the Collector of Ganjam And at this time Mr J S Sykes, a young merchant of Calcutta, who had business correspondence with the missionaries in Orissa, but was not in any way directly prompted by them, conceived the idea of establishing a general subscription for the relief of the sufferers by the famine there With a boldness which the result amply justified, he advertised an Orissa Famine Fund on the 14th April, and, immediately putting himself in correspondence on the subject with those from whom he could best obtain information, wrote several letters to the newspapers, and energetically urged the fund His own firm assumed the position of Secretaries On the 2nd May, having received more precise information from his missionary correspondents, he circulated extracts in Calcutta The success of Mr Sykes' fund, as contrasted with the very scant success of the strong appeals for aid for local

purpo es made by the official Committees at Puri and Balasore, was remarkable Mr Sykes and his partner were young and little known it eemed unintelligible that If things were so bad the proposal hould come from them and many people hesitated Yet they collected upwards of Rs. 18 000, and distributed it most impartially On the 28th April Mr R. B Chapman c s Secretary to the Board writing to the *Englishman* in support of the official prices current which had been impugned in that paper said,— There can be no doubt that the uffering both in Orissa and in other parts I very great Indeed for some months past the aged and the feeble have been droj ping off for want of proper food It is time I think that measures were taken to collect a general fund for the relief of this general distres

missariat have refused assistance, crime increasing daily Public and relief works stopped for want of food I recommend immediate importation of rice for use of troops, for jails, and to feed labourers on relief works, to supply food to starving through Relief Committees Rice can be landed at Balasore River, False Point, or mouth of Dhamra River for Cuttack I will arrange to do so *Mahajans* would supply on their own account if Government give a tugsteamer to tow ships down the coast, no rain, and the early sown rice crop in danger." On 29th May Sir C Beadon telegraphed an order for importation

From this time, for a few days, the famine was half realised The officers who were in the hills did not immediately return, but Sir C Beadon on the 31st May showed a strong conviction of the necessity for importation and great exertions were made by the Board to get rice off from Calcutta to False Point and Balasore On the 2nd June Mr Ravenshaw repeated his belief in the existence of stocks, though they could not be made available On the 4th at Puri he recommended Mr Barlow to be cautious not to open too many centres of relief, and the Board not to import to Puri for the present Mr Barlow, however, succeeded in getting a small supply of sea-borne rice from Gopalpur, and the distribution of food on a small scale was commenced On 9th June, the Government of India telegraphed to Sir C Beadon —"The Chamber of Commerce has sent the following message —"Accounts of famine in Orissa most appalling Chamber entreat that the balance of the Famine Fund may be immediately given for purchase of rice" The Governor-General begs for an immediate communication from you on this subject Your latest advices have not led him to suppose matters at all so bad as the Chamber represents His Excellency ready to grant the fullest aid that the Local Government reports to be required" Sir C Beadon replied —"The accounts which I have received do not support the statements of the Chamber, but it will satisfy the public to know that the whole of the Famine Relief Fund is available, and will be expended as required in relieving the existing distress" On the 10th June the Board were authorized to expend the whole balance of the North West Fund for importations of rice On 16th June Sir C Beadon returned to Calcutta But the monsoon had burst, private steamers were not employed, False

soon as the local officers found to be the case, and the local officers imagined that vessels, announced to them, were at hand when in fact they were a long way off Mr Chapman, who had, at first, very efficiently managed these matters was absent on leave, and Mr. Schalch, after ordering the additional quantity through Messrs Gisborne and Co, returned to Darjeeling to rejoin Sir C Beadon there Messrs Gisborne & Co proceeded to obtain the supply from Burma But there was just then an extraordinary demand for cotton in China, and most of the ocean steamers of the port were taken up to go to China No private tug steamers were employed In November the new crop began to come into the market in considerable quantity, and then the general famine may be said to have come to an end The people returned to their avocations, leaving only the very emaciated, the orphans and the widows There still continued to be general distress in the unfortunate tracts which had suffered a second calamity by the floods

With respect to the whole system of relief distribution, the difficulties of obtaining trustworthy superintendence were extreme In the management of the feeding centres there were 3 main difficulties—*1st*, the test of admission *2nd*, the distance of the centres from the houses of many, so that the centres became the temporary homes of crowds of houseless mendicants, and great demoralisation ensued *3rd*, there was caste prejudice, and many were deterred thereby from seeking food till it was too late, some died without seeking it at all The whole quantity of rice which had reached the coast up to the 31st October was about 138,000 bags, which were reckoned as 276,000 *maunds*, or about 10,000 tons by the middle of November nearly 270,000 bags had been imported

No details could be given of the effect of the famine in the Tributary *Mahals* No relief measures were there undertaken by Government The more hilly parts to the west suffered less than the low country, but the suffering in the undulating laterite tracts to the east, the Nilgiri and Mohurbhunj *Mahals*, was very great indeed. The greater part of Mohurbhunj was included in the area of the most severe suffering, but the roughest approximate estimate of the mortality could not be given The population was sparse but in so large a territory the loss of life must have been considerable Next to Orissa, the suffering was

no further, and the scenes of misery were very painful The number of persons who died by the road-side could not be given, but 1,235 deaths were reported as having occurred at the feeding centres of the Howrah district Early in 1866, starvelings began to resort to Calcutta from the western districts On 11th June the Justices resolved to ask Government to prevent persons afflicted with contagious diseases from proceeding to Calcutta, "a vast number" having within the previous days arrived The paupers soon reached a number which was estimated at from 15,000 to 18,000 Nothing could exceed the munificence of the rich native gentlemen of the town, and the food given was in quality and quantity all that could possibly be desired Throughout the famine, of all the poor people who came to Calcutta, none remained without ample food except those poor creatures who arrived too weak to crawl to the places of distribution, and were picked up by the police dead or dying Sheds were erected in July and extra conservancy and hospital arrangements made On the 13th August a general Relief Committee was formed, the charity of the natives was systematized, and a camp established at Chitpur in the suburbs The number at the camp never exceeded 5,000, and during the 3 months of its existence the average number sent to the famine hospitals was 10,769, of whom, up to November 9th, 3761 were cured, and 4,276 died But this last figure did not include those who died in the pauper camp and in the streets, without going to hospital The total number despatched to their homes was 11,515 Many of those belonging to adjacent districts returned and were reckoned twice On the 22nd November, the operations in Calcutta ceased, and there remained only the destitute orphans collected in an asylum Of £60,186 received by the Calcutta Committee £10,000 were devoted to the support of the orphans, £28,055 were sent to other districts or paid over to the Board, and the rest was spent in Calcutta

East of the Hooghly the district most afflicted with famine was Nadia in which the official courage of Lord Ulick Browne, the Collector, secured efficient relief In June the distress became very severe, and money was rapidly expended both in giving employment to those who could work and feeding those who could not On 18th June about 2,500 persons were employed in the special relief works, and 4,000 on public works of all kinds At the worst time the number

fed exceeded 10 000 In the 24 *Parganas* severe distress appeared somewhat late in the season in considerable tracts principally those in which damage had been done by the Cyclone of 1864 But thi distress was efficiently met by the expenditure of Rs 50 000.

It was not till late in September when most of the expenditure had already been incurred that Government appealed to the public. On the 19th September Sir C Beadon asked the assistance of the Calcutta Committee and about the same time addressed all the Administrations in India. An official appeal for general as i tance was then everywhere made By that time however there was a con siderable feeling on the part of the public that the appeal was made too late for practical benefit The amount of the subscriptions was no doubt in some degree limited by this feeling The Famine Com mi sioner expressed a decided opinion that a Central Relief Com mittee might properly and with advantage have been formed when fir t suggested by the Chamber of Commerce A public Committee woul l probably have delegated their executive functions to a Sub committee con tituted very much as was the Board of Revenue when Mr Moncrieff and Babu Digambar Mitter as i ted it But the mode of arriving at such an executive body would have secured the confi lence of the pul lic, would probably have attracted information an l ugge tions no volunteered to an official body would have become better acquainted with the severity of the famine than was actually the case when the public were not represented would have been better qualified to ju lge c l the public feeling and the monetary state of the country an l an earlier aj peal wculd j robal ly have been ma le f r general į ul lic al l

of the year 1866, a quantity of grain sufficient to meet the wants of the inhabitants during the following months, or that food and employment could in any way have been provided sufficient to reach the whole mass of the people Much suffering and mortality must under any circumstances have occurred The omission to import grain into Orissa, in the early months of the year, had unfortunately a double effect If moderate quantities had been imported, the machinery for landing and distributing which must have been prepared, and the knowledge of these operations which would have been obtained, would have rendered it possible to throw vastly larger quantities of rice into the province in June, July and August, than was the case when importations were suddenly commenced in June without preparation of any kind, and just at the season when it had become nearly impossible to send boats and light river steamers from Calcutta If these had been at False Point, almost any quantity of rice might have been landed and sent into the interior in the season of the rains Next, in practice no 2 systems of administration could be more different than that followed in Bengal, and that which, in general terms, might be said to prevail throughout the rest of India In all other provinces the country was actively governed with a strong hand, but, it might be said, in direct communication with the people, somewhat after the fashion of most of the Governments of Europe The Government made itself felt everywhere, and undertook corresponding responsibilities It was represented in every quarter by a large establishment of executive functionaries The Bengal system was based rather on an English than on a European model The country was administered judicially and not by the executive power The executive reigned but did not govern It had little executive machinery and it on principle avoided interference with the affairs of the mass of the people The settlement of the revenue of the *zamindars* had been supposed to have transferred a large portion of the responsibilities of an oriental Government to that body, and any executive interference with their *raiyats*, or executive attempt to ascertain rights or even facts, had been regarded as an infringement of the principles of the settlement The officers of Government were subject, like every one else, to fixed laws and the action of the Courts, and in Bengal the personal responsibility thus thrown on them, not being

counteracted by great administrative power and influence had become in a rich and litigious country a heavy burden They were constantly subject to prosecution for every act and the knowledge of their legal rights possessed by the people and their readiness to resort to the courts rendered executive officers little disposed to acts the legality of which might admit of question A weak or at any rate abstinent executive might involve little injury and imply great advantages in a country where the indigenous institutions supplied the means of local Self-Government but these again were more wanting in Bengal than in any other part of India and the *zamindars* failing to do that which the Government had ceased to do the country was in fact governed for the most part only by the action of the Courts of ju tice to which the people resorted in a degree not known in most countries If the Bengalis had not yet learned much self government they had at least learned to make their wants known to Government Education had progressed very greatly among them a large proportion of them were extremely acute and intelligent they had a large and very free use of the Press; and they had among them several influential associations However the system might or might not be well suited to civilised Bengal it was in many respects unsuited to remote inaccessible and uneducat ed di tricts such as those in which the famine in 1866 had been

be expected under the circumstances—most of them with a personal devotion beyond all praise But unfortunately neither of the officers in charge of the 2 districts in which severe famine first appeared, though most praiseworthy in all other respects, had that exceptional official persistence which might have surmounted the difficulties in their way The Commissioners of Divisions seemed to have been, in most instances, more impressed with the necessity of resisting a too great disposition to rely on Government aid, than ready very freely to encourage applications for aid The action of the Commissioner of Orissa was generally (up to a certain point) unfortunate In particular Mr Ravenshaw yielded injudiciously to a mere popular cry regarding the existence of stocks kept back by wicked grain-dealers The greatest possible allowances were to be made for him owing to the recentness of his appointment, and to his want of knowledge of the people and want of experience of the duties thrown on him, looking also to the very decided negatives which he received when he did on certain occasions direct inquiry into the loss of crops and urged the necessity of importing grain But his want of local knowledge, his mistake regarding the stocks of grain, and some errors and omissions on his part, produced a bad effect If the case had been fully explained to the higher authorities, they would not have resisted the evident necessity of providing food for the labourers—a duty which Government in the Public Works Department had distinctly thrown on the civil authorities The Famine Commissioners acknowledged Mr Ravenshaw's unwearied exertions from the time when the crisis was recognised and large relief measures commenced In these he was also efficiently aided by Mr D J McNeile, c s The Commissioner of Chota Nagpur too much distrusted the representations of the Deputy Commissioner of Manbhum without himself sufficiently ascertaining the real state of the country The Commissioner of Burdwan very fairly, even emphatically, represented the facts, so far as he could ascertain them, in the early part of the season But he could not be said to have continued to watch and inquire so carefully as his reports of the state of the country required The practical issue of his administration sufficiently showed that the Commissioner of Nadia did all that was proper to be done Of the Board, the Commissioners said that, having made a report upon very imperfect

information they adhered too tenaciously to the opinions which they had expressed; when circumstances brought to their knowledge might well have caused doubt and suggested further inquiry and that they too long maintained general principles laid down by them when they might have known that the circumstances were very exceptional. They wrongly applied to Orissa principles of administration which were at any rate applicable only to the permanently settled district of Bengal. Adhering too much to their own views they too readily seized upon everything which tended in that direction and too much overlooked circumstances tending the other way. They sometimes incautiously reported to the Government circumstances of the former character without sufficient inquiry. They resisted too long the evidence of the necessity of importing grain into Orissa. Care, thoughtfulness and humanity were generally apparent in their proceedings, but nevertheless their too fixed adherence to their opinions, when combined with want of boldness on the part of local officers impressing views opposed to those of their superiors, tended much to an unfortunate result. Although it did

urgently represented the facts of the case to the Government. The Secretary, Public Works Department, might have informed himself of the state of things more exactly, when he visited Orissa, and subsequently might have earlier discovered and brought to notice the failure of the works to give large employment to the poor Such being the deficiencies, the Commissioners considered it very unfortunate that the Head of the Government should not have been able to give that personal attention to the subject which might have remedied these misunderstandings and brought these misapprehensions to light, and that, perhaps taking a too sanguine view His Honor was not induced by the information which did reach him to seek more urgently for that which did not reach him Especially they thought it unfortunate that the opinions held by some of the local officers regarding the extreme deficiency of food, and the facts known to them as to the effect of that want on the system of works designed for relief, were not elicited during the Lieutenant-Governor's visit to Orissa, that on the occasion of the reference by the Government of India in March (on Sir A Cotton's letter), and again on the occurrence of a great rise of prices in the beginning of April, and with reference to the great outbreak of crime known to be caused by want, more urgent and direct inquiry was not made, and that, before His Honor's departure from Calcutta and the Commissioner of Orissa's nearly simultaneous departure from Balasore, there was no special arrangement for the early communication of intelligence of the daily progress of events They thought that, on the vital question of the existence of sufficient stocks of grain, His Honor placed a reliance on the reports and opinions of Mr Ravenshaw greater than was warranted by that officer's general experience and knowledge, and too easily accepted assertions opposed to all the ordinary laws of trade and political economy, and to all the general indications from which an opinion could best be formed On the other hand, they thought it unfortunate that Mr Ravenshaw's letter of April 20th, announcing extreme starvation at Balasore, did not lead to urgent inquiry, and that his letter of May 2nd did not cause the most immediate action. His Honor pressed the expediency of importation on the Board before that body could accede to the propriety of the measure But on that account the Commissioners the more thought that the circum-

stances which caused the defect of knowledge acted very prejudicially in retarding measures of relief generally. The Commissioners felt sure that every man would be judged by his conduct as a whole and not merely by certain deficiencies or errors. While many had much occasion to look back with very great satisfaction on the result of their meritorious exertions to save life on this terrible occasion, all whose errors of judgment had in any way rendered their labour less efficacious than they might have been must have regretted that detraction from their success in such a case with feelings more acute than could be those of any who were not actors in these events. The Commissioners' investigation was more directed to the conduct of classes than of individuals. They thought it would be invidious to particularise the individuals who most distinguished themselves by their exertion further than by referring to the mention made in the course of their Report and in the district narratives of Mr. Sykes, Mr. Moncrieff, the officers of the East India Irrigation Company, and other European gentlemen, and many liberal and benevolent natives, among whom the Raja of Parikud in Puri was prominently noticed. Of officials the following were mentioned as most conspicuous among many deserving of much praise:—Mr. Barlow, Collector of Puri; Mr. Muspratt, Collector of Balasor; Mr. Shortt, Assistant Collector at Bhadrak in Balasore; Dr. Jackson, Civil Surgeon, Balasore; Mr. Harris, Assistant Surgeon employed on the Dhamra; Mr. Barton, Assistant Collector at Khurda; Mr. Kirkwood, Relief Manager in Cuttack; Lieutenant Money, Deputy Commissioner of Manbhum; and Lord H. U. Browne, Collector of Nadia.

Orissa and 413 347 *maunds* altogether, including despatches by land, to Midnapore and Manbhum of this amount 324,072 were used Up to the end of 1866 the total cost of the famine was under 25½ *lakhs* 80,000 people had been gratuitously relieved for 6 months, and 4,500 for several months on works

The hopes held out by the Orissa Famine Commissioners of the recuperative power of the province proved to be too sanguine The Famine Commission s report may again be referred to In December 1866, Mr Schalch (Member of the Board of Revenue) was deputed to make special inquiries into the condition of the people He reported that while the crop, in the tracts where there was any crop, was exceptionally good, in the parts which the inundations had visited there was absolutely nothing saved, and these parts he estimated at ½ of Cuttack (the central part lying along the Mahanadi) the southern part of Puri, and the south-eastern part of Balasore, with a population of about 850,000, he calculated that the area in which the crops were saved, aided by stocks and what small private existed, would supply food to half of this population, but that the rest must depend on Government importations, and he reckoned that, at 5 *maunds* per head, to feed them for 9 months, the necessary quantity to be imported was 1,210,000 *maunds* This recommendation was approved by the Bengal Government, on the ground that "the holders of grain, taught by experience of the past year, will be unwilling to part with it until the safety of the next crop is assured, while the internal trade of the province is slow to adapt itself to new channels, and it is now certain that no dependence is to be placed on supplies by private merchants from abroad"

In January the number of applicants for relief began largely to increase, deaths from starvation were reported in great numbers (about 40 a day in the Cuttack district), prices showed a tendency to rise, and reports came in giving a melancholy picture of the desolation and distress of the country On the 12th February 1867 a public meeting was held in Calcutta, at which the Viceroy made known what had been recently learnt as to the circumstances of the people, and invited the public to bear its part in the duty of relieving the famine-stricken An influential Committee was appointed and the sum of Rs 6,14,503 was subscribed Sir John (Lord) Lawrence, in addressing the meeting, said "I will here remind you that in 1865

somewhat leniently we question whether there is sufficient ground for the hesitation expressed in paragraph 418 of the Commissioners Report as to the degree of responsibility attaching to the Board of Revenue. We cannot think that there is really any room to doubt that the Board of Revenue regarded it as a part of their duty to keep themselves informed concerning the state of the country to give instructions within the limits of their authority to the local revenue officers respecting measures of relief when such were deemed necessary and to report to Government if they should consider any thing to be required beyond the limits of their authority

17 The whole course of the correspondence seems to us to support this view and it is, indeed, incredible that the Board should have taken on themselves to send the reply which they did, to the Commissioner's telegram of 31st January unless they had believed that the responsibility primarily rested with them of determining whether the state of the country was, or was not such as to call for extraordinary measures.

18. Though drawing this inference however as to the Board's own estimate of the character of their functions and authority we do not the less agree with the Commissioners in considering that it was undoubtedly the duty of the Board to have communicated Mr Ravenshaw's telegram of the 31st. January to the Lieutenant Governor

19. We are indeed, at a loss to understand how the Members of the Board could have thought themselves justified in dealing with a communication of such importance without referring it for the orders of the Lieutenant Governor and we are constrained to say that in our judgment a heavy weight of responsibility and grievous blame attaches to the Board of Revenue in this respect.

propounded as the only true issue by His Honor in his Minute of the 15th instant In the 64th paragraph His Honor observes —"The Government of India will not fail to perceive that the real point of the inquiry, though it has not by any means been fairly brought out by the Commission, is whether the circumstances of Orissa, as known to the local authorities and reported to Government, were such as to warrant them in recommending or justifying * the Government in resorting at an earlier period without such recommendation to so very serious and exceptional a measure as the importation on public account of rice sufficient to feed a large proportion of the entire population" We think it clearly brought out by the Commission that the circumstances of Orissa, as known to the local authorities, did warrant them in making the recommendation, which in fact most of them did make at an early period, that sufficient grain should be imported to render relief by public works effectual, and we cannot admit that the limited measure thus recommended was open to serious objection on economical grounds It is true that the virtual unanimity of the local officers in this opinion was not apparently known to the Head of the Government, but, for the question as to the course which would have been justifiable on the part of the Local Government in the absence of Reports, we are bound to say that several other questions ought to be substituted—were not the facts as to the condition of Orissa which were in the possession of the Government of Bengal before the end of 1865 of a character to cause the deepest anxiety and alarm? Should not the anxiety and alarm have led to continued vigilance? In the exercise of that vigilance, should not the fullest advantages have been taken of every opportunity of inquiring into the state of the country and the efficiency of measures of relief? and, if that advantage had been taken, would not the true condition and prospects of the population of Orissa have been estimated with much greater accuracy at a much earlier period?

* Query—"to justify

22 We are under the necessity of drawing your attention to the first half of the month of February 1866, which we consider the most critical period in the history of the famine At that date the Commissioners are distinctly of opinion that the time had come when grain should have been imported for the purpose of paying in food the part of the population which was willing to labor at the public works, and we think it more than probable that, if such a measure had been resorted to, its direct and indirect effects would have been to bring out the whole truth as to the state of the people at a time when the exertions of Government might have been most effectual On February 13th the Lieutenant-Governor reached Orissa in company with his Public Works

almost nominal, and that early in February 1866 "famine relief" was, in the Commissioner's words, "at a standstill" through the operation of the same cause which led ultimately to the general failure of the attempt to relieve through this instrumentality, *viz*, the valuelessness of money paid for labor in the absence of procurable food It seems to us highly probable that personal inquiry on the part of the Lieutenant-Governor, or of his Public Works Secretary, whether relief worthy of the name was in fact being administered, would have brought out information which would have proved of the most serious importance, and we are wholly unable to understand the statement of Colonel Nicolls "that the result (of discussion) was that nothing more was necessary", (Statements, &c, No, 119), and that in February and March there was no reason to suppose that the employment given by the relief works in the Puri district was inadequate to the emergency for which they were designed, (*Ibid*) It appears to us that throughout the famine in Orissa no sufficient attention was paid by the Government of Bengal to the extraordinary disproportion between the distress never denied to exist in Orissa, and the relief afforded by public works, whether its amount was tested by expenditure or by visible progress in construction

25 The impressions received by he Lieutenant Governor in Orissa, no doubt, remained on his mind, and explain both the scantiness of his communications with the Government of India and the uniform color of his representations As His Honor has stated in his first Minute, on his return to Calcutta, he discussed the subject of the famine with the Governor-General in a personal interview, and affirmed that the circumstances of Orissa were not such as to render the importation of grain expedient or necessary No further communication was addressed to us till the 28th of March, when, in answer to our request for a Report whether any further measures of relief were necessary, the Lieutenant-Governor informed us that "there was no prospect of a famine in Bengal," that "in Orissa, where the scarcity has been greatest, the wants of the people had been materially relieved," and that "the natural fluctuation of prices had been sufficient to attract food to the districts (of Orissa) in which it was scarcest" All these assertions are substantially repeated in a series of demi-official letters to the Governor-General, extending from May 22nd to June 23rd On the 10th of June His Honor informed us that his accounts did not support the statements of the Chamber of Commerce regarding the appalling character of the famine, and the narratives received from the Government of Bengal on June 20th, July 11th, July 18th, July 24th and August 8th, successively affirm that "the general state of the suffering districts is improving;" that "the improvement continues," that "the accounts, though showing

that great distress exists in Orissa, are full of promise as to the future; that "prices are falling even in Orissa;" that "the accounts from the distressed districts are favourable;" and that "they are very cheering."

6. We are satisfied that a persuasion of the truth of these statements was in His Honor's mind, but we are not satisfied that they were warranted by any evidence before him, except so far as the promising state of the crops may have partially justified the later narratives. Positive assertions of this sort in so unspeakably serious a matter ought not to have been based on the mere absence of evidence to the contrary but should have rested on affirmative testimony to their correctness. Such statements should not, we think, have been made without some distinct evidence that the causes supposed to be mitigating the famine were really in operation; as, for example, that grain from the alleged stocks was really coming into the market, that prices were really falling, that private enterprise was actually coming to the aid of the starving population, that a number of persons proportionate to the area of the distress were, as a known fact, receiving effective relief through the extension of public works. We cannot see that any evidence tending to support such conclusions was before the Lieutenant Governor; we know indeed, that they were altogether opposed to the facts.

A copy of the Governor-General's Minute of the 20th April and of the Government of India's despatch of the 22nd idem was given to Sir C Beadon, who wrote thereon his Minute of the 30th April, which may be quoted as containing his final words on the subject, as he then left India

"By the courtesy of His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor-General, I have received a copy of the despatch from the Government of India to the Secretary of State, No 71, dated the 22nd April, and of the Minutes recorded by His Excellency and Sir H Durand, relative to the Report of the Orissa Famine Commission The contents of these papers impose on me the necessity for making some further observations, and I hope I may be permitted to express my regret that the necessity for forwarding the Despatch to England before the Governor-General and his Council left Calcutta for Simla should have prevented the Government of India from giving more attentive consideration to the correspondence and evidence on which the Report of the Commission professes to be based, and from testing the accuracy of the facts and opinions presented in the Report by a more careful reference to its Appendix It is also, I think, very much to be regretted that the Government of India should have felt themselves obliged to pass judgment on the conduct of individual officers without giving them an opportunity of explaining it

2 On the first 3 paragraphs of the Governor-General's Minute I have to remark that, in the middle of October 1865 as soon as the failure of the principal rice crop gave indications of approaching scarcity, the Board were desired to make a comprehensive Report on the state and the prospects of the country, to adopt such measures of relief as they could, and to suggest such as they thought it necessary for the Government to adopt, a few days afterwards the Commissioner of Cuttack was called upon for a special Report on his Division, action was at once taken upon it when received, and on the 25th November the Board submitted their general Report This Report and my orders thereon were submitted to the Government of India on the 11th December, and it is to me a matter of exceeding regret that neither then nor subsequently on receipt of my official communications of the 19th December, 8th January, 5th and 20th February, and 28th March, (all showing the wide extent of the scarcity and the means taken to relieve it), nor again when I returned from Orissa in February, and related to the Governor-General what I had seen there and the impressions I had derived from my visit, did the Government of India, though having experience of famines which neither I nor any of the officers or

inhabitants of Bengal or Orissa, had, utter a single word for our guidance or even warn me that the consequences of the impending famine might be more serious than then seemed probable, or that the measures taken to avert them might not be sufficient.

3. In paragraph 44 of his Minute the Governor General expresses his opinion that, when I was in Orissa, in February 1866, I had quite enough before me to show that there was at least much danger of a famine. His Excellency thinks it scarcely credible that all the different individuals with whom I conversed should have been altogether silent at such a momentous period, and have given no expression to the anxious doubts and fears which they *cannot but have felt*. And His Excellency remarks that the starving multitude which beset me at Puri should have led me to make special inquiry which could not have failed to lay bare the real condition of the people.

rice was then being imported from Gopalpur, and that no one supposed that it would be necessary for the Government to import rice to feed the population and prevent them from starving. I made every inquiry that it was possible for me to make, and enjoined the Collector to keep himself and Government fully and constantly informed of the state of the district, and to recommend any further measures of relief that he might think necessary. This he promised to do, assuring me then, as he did afterwards officially on the 5th March that Government could then do no more than had actually been done.

6. As to what the Governor General observes in paragraph 6 of his Minute, I will only ask the Secretary of State candidly to read and consider Mr. Barlow's Reports of the 21st and 30th March, and Mr Ravenshaw's letters of the 24th March and 9th April forwarding them to the Board. The former of these reached me on the 17th April, and the latter on the 1st May, and I confidently submit that there is nothing in either of them that could possibly lead me to suppose that the measures undertaken for the relief of the sufferers were, or would be, otherwise than sufficient. I deny that I ever thought the statements of the distress which reached me were exaggerated, but I had no reason to believe that they were too favourable, and such as they were, believing them to be the result of careful inquiry, I could not do otherwise than accept them. The demi-official correspondence that passed between Mr. Barlow and Mr. Ravenshaw at the same time, (which I have only seen since the Report of the Commission was written,) shows clearly that their official letters represented their real opinion and belief, and that there was no hesitation in expressing them.

7. Mr. Ravenshaw was desired to go to Mohurbhunj before his letters of March and April reached me. It is all very well now to say that he ought not to have gone, but at the time the necessity for his presence there was extremely urgent, and I could not possibly suppose that his temporary absence from the sea-board would in any way impede relief measures, or prevent Government from receiving such further information as would lead it, if necessary, to extend them or adopt others. I expressly desired him to communicate with me by telegraph, and it is evident that, if he had been all the time on the sea-board, he could not have reported anything further during the interval, for it was not till the 28th May, (17 days after he had returned to the sea-board and 6 days after he had telegraphed to say that importation of rice was only required as a measure of economy), that he telegraphed its urgent necessity as a means of supplying food. Long before that, we had allotted large funds for relief to each of the Orissa districts, and I had urged the Board to import rice.

8 The Governor General observes, in paragraph 8, that Mr Schalch ought not to have been allowed to go to Darjeeling but the executive action of the Board was in no way impeded by the temporary absence of one Member and I was anxious to have the advantage of personally consulting him both on that and on other questions of revenue administration Mr Schalch's personal knowledge of Orissa was confined to Balasore and it did not in the least appear that he could have done any good by going to Orissa, or that the Commissioner and the other local officer required the personal advice or direction of a Member of the Board

9 I refrain from remarking on paragraphs 9 to 19 of the Governor General's Minute, further than again to urge that none of the officers whose proceedings have been impugned by the Commission may be condemned before they have been heard in defence There is not one among them whose explanation would not materially affect the conclusions which have been formed by the Commission and adopted by the Government of India from the Commission's Report These gentlemen are in fact in the position of accused persons who, having been examined in such a way as to elicit answers in support of an obviously foregone conclusion unfavorable to themselves are judged

the tract in which severe distress prevailed, and into which he desired to import rice, as "the sandy strip of land which divides the Chilka lake from the sea This, too, was at a time when there "was no bother about food in the town of Puri,' and when it had been reported that there was a steady influx of carts from the *mufassal*, that grain of all sorts was exposed for sale in the shops, and that, though prices were so high as to be prohibitory to the poorer classes, the regular supply was above the demand, and food was forthcoming where funds to buy it existed Even the Deputy Collector (Babu Ramakhoy Chatterji) who, in December 1866, told the Commission that he had not believed in the existence of large stores of grain, actually reported officially on the 25th October 1865 that there was a large quantity of rice in the Puri bazars, that a supply was coming in daily, and that many *zamindars* and others had "an immense quantity of rice in their stores enough to supply the whole district with rice for 2 years" This is not the language of men who thought that Government would have to import rice for the support of the population of the town and district

12 At a somewhat later period again, when Mr Barlow sent in his amended proposal to employ the people of Malud, Parikud, and Sathpara on the Puri and Ganjam roads, instead of reviving the salt manufacture, all he suggested was that grain should be *stored* at different points along the line In his letter of the 29th November making this suggestion he said not a word about *importation* of rice, and the Commissioner, in forwarding Mr Barlow's letter to the Board on the 6th December, evidently supposed that the rice would be purchased on the spot On the 9th December Mr Barlow telegraphed from Puri that "destitution was general and complete" in Sathpara, Malud, and Parikud, which he had just visited, but all he asked for was permission to expend Rs. 5,000 in digging a tank at Sathpara, and this was given at once,—the Board directing him to pay wages in grain in order to keep the people from starving Here again neither Mr Barbow nor Mr Ravenshaw, who wrote on the same subject on the 18th December, alluded to the necessity for importing rice, and Mr Crommelin, writing on the same day to the Chief Engineer regarding the prosecution of work on the Puri and Ganjam roads, observed that the Commissioner's suggestion for part payment in rice should be adopted, and that *there would be no difficulty with the Collector's aid in carrying it out*

13 Again on the 22rd and 25th December Mr Barlow wrote saying that rice in the district, *so far as depending on the local supply*, would not be cheaper than 12 Cuttack seers, equal to 15¾ Bengal seers, the rupee, and that, therefore, if it could be imported at 16 seers or more for the rupee, large quantities would be sold, and that he was read

to take 10,000 or 15,000 maunds for the jail and Public Works at that rate but that, as he found that rice could not be landed at Puri cheaper than 10 or 12 Bengal seers for the rupee, it would be useless "under present conditions of the local market" to import rice This is not the language of one who thought that the local supply of rice was insufficient, or that its importation from abroad by Government was necessary to feed the labourers, much less to support the

their inquiry was held), supplemented by private importation, would not suffice for all

17 The Government of India have referred to my private correspondence with the Governor General in proof of this alleged "incapacity of belief," but yet His Excellency writing to me on the 11th June, long after I had realized the necessity for importing rice into Orissa, and had actually imported it, wrote to me thus—

"I think that, *if the local officers at all recommend this measure*, we should import grain even at this late date, and at the risk of prices falling"

And the Hon'ble Mr Grey, writing to His Excellency on the 18th June, observed as follows —

"Beadon is no doubt right in saying that we must now go on with our supplies of rice to Orissa, but the facts mentioned by Chapman seem to me *to throw grave doubts on the wisdom of the course we have embarked upon*"

18 If I had waited for the recommendation of the local authorities, or if Mr Grey's doubts had prevailed, rice would not have been imported into Orissa until a still later date The narratives alluded to in paragraph 25 of the despatch were all written after the most active measures had been taken to relieve the distress, and when they were in full operation The tone of them is fully borne out by the official Reports received at that time from the local officers

19 Undoubtedly the facts known as to the condition of Orissa before the end of 1865 were such as to cause the deepest anxiety and alarm, and to demand continued vigilance To this I was fully alive from the first, and I did not cease to exercise (as I thought) the vigilance which the occasion demanded The correspondence with Messrs Gisborne & Co, in November, and with the Board in November and December 1865, was immediately reported to the Government of India,—but the former only elicited a bare approval of my proceedings, and of the latter no notice was taken On the first indication of scarcity, and repeatedly afterwards, the Commissioner of Cuttack was called upon to report on the condition of the province, and to suggest measures of relief, weekly reports were required from the Collectors, every practicable measure recommended by the local authorities was adopted, Relief Committees were appointed, and unlimited expenditure was sanctioned for public works Not content with this, I myself visited the province in February, and endeavoured by personal communication with all classes, official and unofficial, European and Native, to elicit the truth, and I reported the result of my inquiries verbally to the Governor-General

20 As Mr Barlow himself had never advocated the importation of

rice even on a small scale, unless it could be landed cheaper than it could be obtained in the district, and had never even thought of importation on a large scale, it is easy enough to understand why he did not press the matter on me when I was on the spot, without having recourse to the monstrous supposition broached by the Commission that he lacked official boldness to speak out his mind, or the utterly gratuitous insinuation * that he was in any way discouraged from doing so. I venture to affirm that there is not an officer under the Government of Bengal who would not indignantly deny the existence of any such feeling and that Mr Barlow himself would be among the first to repudiate it.

1 The Government of India say that I came away from Cuttack with the impression that no calamity resembling that which has occurred was to be expected, and that this impression is now acknowledged to be a mistaken one There is enough truth in this to make it a plausible ground of charge, and to give apparent support to the conclusion that my inquiry was superficial But yet the statement is substantially erroneous and misleading The impression I derived from my visit was, not that the pending calamity was not a very serious one, not that the people would not suffer severe distress in consequence of the utter failure of the crops and the consequent extreme dearness of food, but that the stocks of grain in the country would last beyond the next harvest that present distress was already met by the employment of the people on the roads, embankments, and canals and by the relief afforded both by private individuals and by the Relief Committees and that though money would be afterwards wanted to supplement local charity the importation of food by the Government would not be required In this opinion I was supported by all facts I could gather by patient personal inquiry and by the universal opinion of all with whom I came in contact.

2 The Government of India say that the relief afforded by public works was almost nominal, but this statement is wholly opposed to the recorded facts. During the first [illegible] months of 18[illegible], the amount actually expended on public works in Orissa (exclusive of the cost of establishment) was upwards of Rs [illegible], and Mr Barlow's letters of March, April, and May [illegible] that a vast amount of relief was being [illegible]

afforded in that way, while the Irrigation Company had, when I was in Cuttack, some 17,000 or 18,000 labourers employed on their canals, and would have employed more if they could have got them Unfortunate as were the orders of the Commissioner regarding the payment of labourers in money instead of grain, their effect has been greatly exaggerated by the Commission

23 I have nothing to remark on Sir Henry Durand's Minute, except that the *carte blanche* to which he refers was not given until after effectual measures had been taken to relieve the distress, both by grants of public money and by the importation of food

24 I feel much indebted to the Government of India for their cordial acknowledgment of "the activity and zeal displayed by the Lieutenant-Governor as soon as the true condition of the people of Orissa was understood," but in truth there was no want of activity or zeal on the part of the Government, or of any of its officers, from the commencement I certainly did not think until the middle of May (though, as the Governor-General observes, the subject had occupied my anxious thought from a much earlier period) that it would be necessary or expedient for the Government to resort to the extreme and hazardous step of supplementing the local stocks of grain by importation of rice on public account from abroad, but this view was held by all the local officers, and by at least one Member of the Government of India long after I had abandoned it, and after I had directed importation on my own responsibility in spite of the remonstrances of the Board, and of the warnings of the Press against such interference with private trade

25 I beg the Secretary of State to consider the parallel case of Ganjam There the same indications of scarcity appeared precisely at the same time as in Orissa, and exhibited themselves almost precisely in the same manner There the same reliance was placed by the Government on the efforts of the local officers and on private charity, until on the 15th June (nearly a month after large sums of money had been allotted for gratuitous aid in Orissa) application was made for a grant from the old Famine Fund And there also there was the same, or even greater, hesitation in adopting the decisive measure of importing grain into the country on account of the Government I have not got a copy of Mr Forbes' Report on the Ganjam Famine, but I append a brief abstract of it taken from a newspaper, which I presume to be in the main correct So far from presuming to question the action of the Government of Madras in the matter, I have no doubt it was dictated by the same careful regard for the interests of the people by which we were actuated, but I may refer to it as showing how unreasonable it is to condemn the Government of Bengal for a course of action exactly

"I have read and considered in Council with great interest, and not without great pain, the Report of the Commissioners appointed to inquire into the Famine in Bengal and Orissa in 1866 transmitted in your letter of the 22nd April (No 71), 1867 together with the other papers connected with the subject

2 It is hardly necessary for me to say how deeply Her Majesty's Government and indeed all classes of people in this country, have been affected by the heavy calamity with which it has pleased Providence to visit that portion of the British Empire Such a visitation, even if we could console ourselves with the reflection that every available means had been used to avert and to mitigate it, must necessarily be felt as a severe misfortune, and I deeply regret that on the present occasion this consolation is denied to me I am reluctantly brought to the conclusion that, though the melancholy loss of life which the Commissioners report may be due mainly to natural and inevitable causes, there has been a most unfortunate want of foresight and of energy on the part of those who were charged with the administration of the province where it occurred, and that some grave errors of judgment have been committed

3 I do not forget that in a tropical country, depending on the annual rains for its main supply of water, imperfectly supplied with the means of communication, and inhabited by a dense, and in many parts an ignorant, population, dearths and even famines must occasionally occur, or that it is but little that the most powerful Government can effect, when the land is visited by these evils, to avert the most appalling forms of death Neither do I forget that it must be difficult for the most far-seeing persons to discriminate in the early part of a deficient season between mere threatenings of distress and the actual imminence of disaster, such as would justify a Government in having recourse to exceptional measures of relief It is clear that Government interference with the supply of food would, in ordinary years, be not only unnecessary but mischievous, and I think the authorities in Bengal were, in the first instance, quite right in regarding proposals for such interference with distrust I think, however that a sufficient amount of attention to the facts, as they were gradually brought to light, would have shown them at a comparatively early period that this was a case in which it was their duty to take such measures as were in their power for the mitigation of suffering which had become inevitable They saw the necessity for providing the people with the means of obtaining food I regret that they failed to discover that what was needed was not money to purchase with, but the food itself

4 It appears to me, after an examination of the Report and of the evidence on which it is founded, that it would not be just to throw the

blame of the failure, which is but too clearly brought to light exclusively upon any particular individual The prominent position of the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal and his immediate and direct responsibility for the proper administration of his Presidency cannot fail to attract the closest attention to his conduct, and to expose him to the strictest criticism, and I am bound to add to some animadversions the justice of which cannot be disputed But it would be wrong to judge Sir C Beadon by the light of subsequent events, without taking into consideration the *circumstances in which he found himself placed* and the amount of assistance which he received from those on whom he had a right to rely for information and advice His conduct when he at last became fully alive to the magnitude of the calamity affords sufficient proof that his previous inactivity was due not to indifference but to an imperfect apprehension of the facts of the cases and it is fair to inquire how far that imperfection is attributable to his own failure in energy or in sagacity and how far to the nature of the reports which he received from others.

7 While expressing my regret at this error on the part of the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, I cannot but say, that I think it unfortunate that the Government of India, although their attention appears to have been especially called to the subject, did not exercise their influence in favour of a more vigorous course of action The close relations between the Government of India and that of Bengal and the opportunities which exist for personal communication with the Lieutenant-Governor, would naturally bring a question of this importance continually under your notice, and you were, no doubt, cognizant of most of the proceedings with respect to it I learn from your Minute of the 20th April last that Your Excellency was personally of opinion, at an early period of the distress, that it might become desirable to import food That opinion was not shared by the Members of your Council and was not acted upon The amount of information actually in possession of the Government at that time was perhaps, hardly sufficient to justify so exceptional a measure, but it was, I think, enough to have awakened the most serious apprehensions, and to have induced your Government to urge the Lieutenant Governor to undertake an immediate and searching inquiry

8 I am not insensible to the force of the economical arguments which were used against the interference of the Government with the operations of private trade But the conclusions of political economy are true only when sound reasoning is correctly applied to well-ascertained facts, and the event has shown that, in the present case, the facts had not been ascertained It was taken for granted that there was a sufficient quantity of food either in the province, or within reach of the people, which would be brought out in due time when prices had risen to a certain point, and it was argued that the interference of the Government with the regular action of the laws of supply and demand would be not only useless, but mischievous The argument would have been just, if the assumption on which it rested had been true But, unhappily, the assumption was not true, and the reasoning founded on it was consequently fallacious Nor did the mischief stop there It cannot be doubted that the avowed belief of the Government in the existence of adequate stores of rice must have encouraged a like belief on the part of the people of Orissa themselves, and on that of the merchants who might otherwise have been expected to undertake the importation which was needed It escaped the notice of the authorities that Orissa, having long been an exporting country, and not having suffered from famines for a very great number of years, lay somewhat out of the ordinary course of the import trade, and that its necessities were not likely to be so quickly recognised as those of other districts to

which supplies have more frequently to be sent. It was not till great distress began to be felt that the general trade were aware of the reality of the demand; and when that time arrived, the season for importing had unhappily almost passed away. Had the Government, as soon as their attention was called to the subject, instituted a strict inquiry into the actual condition of the district, and made public the result, there can be little doubt that supplies would speedily have been sent there; or that, if private enterprise had failed to provide them, the Government would have seen their way to supplementing it by their own action. But this was not done; and it must be asked why it was not done.

9. The responsibility for the omission appears to me to rest chiefly upon the Board of Revenue.

10. I am aware that it may be urged on behalf of the Board that the information which they received from the local officers was less indicative of the approaching distress than it ought to have been; and that they may also point out that their proceedings were from time to time submitted both to the Government of Bengal and to the Government of India, and were approved, or not disapproved, by them. But while admitting to some extent the validity of these considerations, I am still of opinion that the action of the Board upon one or two critical occasions was most unfortunate.

may not have been well conceived But the failure to institute inquiries, and to obtain accurate information as to facts, cannot be excused Without the solid basis of a correct knowledge of the facts there was no reasonable prospect of their being able to deal properly with the exigency of the case

12 I cannot but regret that neither the Government of Bengal nor that of India should have taken notice of the inadequacy of the information contained in the Report to which I have referred The Board themselves draw attention to the "hypothetical" character of the estimates which had been formed, and to the difference of opinion between one officer and another, and add that they regard them as "merely the opinions of intelligent gentlemen, framed upon such information as they could collect upon a subject with which they are more or less familiar" The Government of Bengal were, I think, hardly justified in describing information of this character as a "very complete Report on the present state and prospects of the crops in the Lower Provinces of Bengal."

13 A similar want of perception of the importance of accurate information is observable in other matters The suggestion that prices current should be regularly published would have been an excellent one, if it had been ascertained that their correctness could be secured As steps were not taken to ensure this, their publication was not merely useless, but had a tendency to become mischievous

14 I do not think it necessary to follow in detail the narrative contained in the Report of the Commissioners, or to express my opinion upon every point which they have raised It would be easy to comment upon many incidents to which they have drawn attention, such as the reprimand conveyed by the Board of Revenue to Mr Ravenshaw (January 10th) for having given instructions to Mr Barlow to investigate some of the claims of the *zamindars* to remission of revenue,—the refusal to allow the wages of the labourers on the public works to be paid in grain,—the confusion of responsibility between the officers of the Public Works Department and the Civil authorities,—the unfortunate answer given to Mr Ravenshaw's telegram of the 31st January, requesting permission to import rice, and the extraordinary hesitation of the Board to import rice, even at so late a date as the 22nd May, when specially invited to do so by the Government of Bengal (Appendix, page 241), but these are, in fact, only illustrations of the tenacity with which the Board of Revenue clung to the view which they had originally adopted Having, in the first instance, accepted, upon very inadequate evidence, the belief that there was a sufficiency of food, they were not to be induced to part from it by evidence which should have carried

conviction to any unprejudiced mind. That their convictions were sincere, I have no doubt. I deeply regret that they were so erroneous.

15 I must now advert to the visit of the Lieutenant Governor to Orissa in February 1866. That visit, which should have inaugurated the *commencement of a more vigorous and effective system of action*, only served to check the hopes that such a system would be adopted. When once the Lieutenant Governor had personally visited the suffering district and had come away satisfied that no famine was to be apprehended and that no other measures of relief were required than such as had been already set on foot, it was not to be expected that the representations of the subordinate local officers would have much weight against his authority and it was not to be wondered at if the vigilance of the Government of India was relaxed

power of work But I am surprised to find that Colonel Nicolls did so little to enlighten the Lieutenant-Governor Being at once the Secretary and Executive Head of the Public Works Department, to which the administration of the relief works was entrusted, he must have had peculiar facilities for ascertaining the actual condition of the people, and in the absence of explanations his failure to do so is to me quite unaccountable

18 I do not think it necessary to discuss at length the conduct of the several local officers who were brought more or less directly into contact with the famine I notice with pleasure, and readily concur in the commendation bestowed by the Commissioners on the 9 officers named in the margin

Mr Barlow, Mr Muspratt, Mr Shortt, Dr Jackson, Mr Harris, Mr Barton, Mr Kirkwood, Lieutenant Money, Lord H U Browne

19 The conduct of Mr Barlow has been made the subject of some discussion This gentleman was not examined by the Commissioners in consequence of his absence from India, and they are consequently unable to explain the cause of his reticence on the occasion of the Lieutenant-Governor's visit to Orissa They suggest that, in all probability, after the replies he had received from the Board of Revenue and from the Government of Bengal to his proposals for the importation of rice, he did not venture to recur to the subject I cannot see any evidence to support this conjecture, which moreover appears to me to be directly at variance with the evidence of the Lieutenant-Governor Mr Barlow's conduct is, upon the whole, very praiseworthy, and it would have been well if more attention had been paid to many of his recommendations, but I cannot think that, upon the occasion of the Lieutenant-Governor's visit, he was as fully alive to the real state of affairs as the Commissioners apparently considered him to have been If I could believe that he was so, and that he withheld his information deliberately through fear of an official rebuff, I should regard his conduct as highly censurable But I am rather disposed to think that he was himself deceived as to the extent of the distress, and was probably under the influence of the more sanguine views of those around him, who considered that the prosecution of public works on a liberal scale would be sufficient to meet all the exigencies of the people I am confirmed in this opinion by the enclosed reply from Mr Barlow to a letter which I had caused to be addressed to him, and which I also forward

20 The conduct of the officers of police generally was creditable to them but I regret that Colonel Pughe should not have made more use of the information which must have reached him, and should not have even gone a little beyond what he thought the strict limits of his

duty in order to call the attention of the Government to the real state of the District.

I shall reserve for a separate letter the consideration of many questions which arise out of this important Report. The suggestions which the Commissioners make for the development of the resources of the country and for the prevention of similar calamities in future will have my most serious attention. I shall also take into consideration the question whether any alterations are desirable in the organization of the Government of Bengal or in the constitution of the Board of Revenue with a view to a better concentration of responsibility and to greater vigour of action. These are points upon which I shall request the advice and co-operation of your Government.

At present, I will only say that I feel deeply indebted to the Commissioners for the valuable Report which they have presented; and that painful as it is in many respects, I feel confident that it will be

subordinate medical men The nature of the system carried out by these officers in 1867 leaned, as was natural, to the opposite extreme from the parsimony of 1866 for the calamity had been so great, and the horror provoked by it so profound, that it was not unnatural that the moving principle should be a compassionate desire to relieve distress at all costs rather than a careful regard for economy in the administration of the public finances

The operations for the importation of rice were placed entirely in the hands of the Board At first, it was intended to import 1,00,000 maunds, this quantity was then raised to 6,00,000, and afterwards to 8,00,000 and ultimately by the end of the year 10,55,825 maunds were imported, which added to the stock in hand, on 1st January 60,985 maunds, made a total for consumption of 11,16,810 maunds At the close of the year 1867 the stock in hand was 6,17,642 maunds, so that the quantity actually sold or distributed (including waste and shrinkage) amounted to 4,99,168 maunds The *biali* or autumn crop was unusually large and good and in October 1867 the Board reported that the condition of the people and prospects of the country had so much improved that the importation of grain should cease and the embargo on export should be taken off from the beginning of 1868 The local paddy was then selling at about 50 seers per rupee, and it was so much preferred by the people that they could not be induced to buy the imported rice and the Government sales had almost entirely stopped The cost of the purchase and importation of this 10,55,825 maunds seems to have been Rs 47,86,201, or Rs 4-9 per maund

No proclamation appears to have been issued by Government forbidding export, but the Government of Bengal (4th February 1867) instructed the Commissioner to "let it be generally known that the Government will not allow rice to be exported by sea from those parts of Orissa which are now being supplied with food at the cost of the State a prohibition to this effect should be issued by the Commissioner"

The Board of Revenue, in reply to the censure passed on them by the Orissa Famine Commission and Government, submitted a long defence dated the 15th August 1869, of 211 paragraphs, with Minutes by both Members attached The paragraphs which the Famine Commission of 1878 quoted, may be reproduced here

(Para 21) - The Board have already admitted unreservedly that,

in their opinion the measures adopted for the relief of the sufferers *from the famine* in Orissa and some other places have been shown, by the event, to have been insufficient, and that nothing but the importation of food by the Government, and that at a very early date, would have enabled the local officers to grapple, in any degree successfully with the famine.

(Para 196.)—"The Board account for the delay which occurred in regard to the adoption of effectual measures to meet the famine thus—

(*a* From the want of experience of famine by the people themselves, their presentiments of famine were far less distinct, and the indications of its approach were far less definite and less early than they would have been in countries habituated to famine.

(*b*) At the same time, the same want of experience on the part of the administration, local and central, prevented them from realizing the full significance of the phenomena that did present themselves, as officers accustomed to famine might have done.

( ) Neither of these causes would have produced very serious results, but for this that all the remedies, heretofore found sufficient for the mitigation of famine in India, were very largely ineffectual in this case Money was of little use, for it could not be exchanged for food

(*d*) Neither would even this circumstance have materially paralyzed the power of the Government but for this, that to be at all largely effectual, it was necessary that the discovery of the full truth should be made and very extensive measures adopted, many months before the actual outburst of unmistakeable famine occurred.

(Para 197)—"In the Board's opinion no fair comparison can be made between the action of the administration last year and that of other administrations on former occasions, unless these 2 vital distinctions of the conditions precedent be fully and honestly recognised and disposed of. They in fact, constituted the essential distinction, and, as it has

owing to its isolated and therefore unintelligible character they did not comprehend the importance of Mr Ravenshaw's telegram of the 31st January, which, if followed up, might again possibly have proved the means of discovering what was hidden from the authorities"

The Government of India disposed of the Board of Revenue's defence in a letter dated the 4th September 1867 to the Bengal Government, from which the following extract may be given —

"13 Still the whole correspondence published shows that even from official sources ample evidence did reach the Board that a terrible calamity was rapidly drawing near, and the Governor-General in Council is constrained to say that, in dealing with this information, the Board were alike wrong in judgment and dilatory in action Imperfect as the information which the Board had before them in November 1865 now proves to have been, His Excellency thinks that they were premature and over-confident in their conclusion that even then no danger of famine existed It is probable that if the evidence then in the possession of the Board had been fairly weighed and tested by information available from other sources, they would have hesitated to form so positive an opinion,—an opinion indeed which, not only unquestionably misled the Local Government, but which appears largely to have influenced the proceedings of the Board, until the Famine had already reached its crisis

"14 Moreover, the information which subsequently reached the Board, even through official channels, was, in the opinion of the Governor-General in Council, quite sufficient to have suggested to the Board, at a comparatively early period, anxious doubts as to the soundness of their original conclusions, and the Board had then within their reach much besides official information

"15 But at no period till the close of May 1866 do the Board seem to have been awakened to the necessity of closer inquiry, or to the probability of any measures of relief being required, beyond those afforded by a moderate extension of public works, and by the exertions of purely local charity

"18 His Excellency in Council is indeed unwilling to believe that considerations of expense really hampered the action of the Board He is glad rather to attribute their inaction to an ungrounded fear of interfering with the natural course of trade——a trade, however, which never existed in fact, and which, even if it had existed at all, was manifestly insufficient to meet the exigencies of the crisis, and which, therefore, might have been unobjectionably supplemented by the aid of Government importation

"22 Taking, therefore, the most restricted definition of their duties

which the Board themselves now give, the Governor General in Council feels that they failed to perform them,—that they neither took proper measures to obtain official information nor rightly estimated the gravity of that which reached them. But it cannot be admitted that the responsibility of the Board was confined to supplying the Local Government with information and advice they unquestionably had authority to take active measures, and in some cases did not hesitate to use it but they not only held back when prompt action would have been invaluable but the action which they did take was in some cases fatally mischievous

"3. I am particularly to instance their telegram of the 1st February 1866 to Mr Ravenshaw the effect of which, in the opinion of the Governor General in Council the Board have not succeeded in explaining

submitted their full explanation of all that occurred, and His Excellency in Council is unable to see that on any important point it justifies or extenuates the course which they pursued, and His Excellency in Council therefore regrets that he is unable to withdraw or modify any portion of the censure which he has already reluctantly passed upon them"

On the occasion of the occurrence of drought in Bengal in 1868-69, Sir William Grey, by a Resolution of the 22nd January 1869, relieved the Board of Revenue of all connection with relief measures Much doubt had been found to exist as to the exact limit of their duties and responsibilities with regard to the distress occasioned by scarcity, and the adoption and supervision of measures for the relief of the suffering districts He thought such matters not to be within their functions in a province like Bengal, and the existing practice had given rise to practical inconvenience and delays. He therefore relieved the Board of the duty of collecting and submitting to Government information as to the state of the crops and the condition of the people with special reference to the necessity of adopting measures of relief, either in the shape of works or of charity and regarding all such matters Commissioners of Divisions were placed in direct communication with the Local Government

The Famine Commission of 1878 recorded the following conclusions as to the famine management of 1867

"It is a melancholy reflection that while a larger sum of money was spent on this famine than had ever been spent before, it should be associated in history only with the memory of a greater mortality than had ever been recorded But the cause of this is not hard to find The measures taken in 1867 were a violent reaction from the policy of 1866 and no expenditure was thought too large to incur in shutting the stable-door, although the steed was irrecoverably lost The officers who administered the charitable funds were mainly impressed with the necessity of forcing relief upon the people and making it so attractive to them that no one could refuse it and hence the cost of this relief was abnormally large Whether in the relief-houses, on light labour, or in the employment given to spinners and weavers, the wages and the food amounted to far more than a bare subsistence allowance, and there can be little doubt that many were tempted by these high rates to accept relief who were not in absolute need. So again no experienced person can read the account of the

rice in December relieved the tightness of the markets and gave employment to the poor: the funds raised locally were small and were soon exhausted. The winter rains were unusually abundant, and the *rabi* crop (so important in Bihar) was quite a good one except in limited tracts destroyed by hail. From this time there was a period of apparent lethargy on the part of Government officers. The police reported numerous cases of deaths from starvation and crime of a kind peculiarly connected with hunger became very common: but no notice was taken of these indications. In April prices again rose considerably: in May the Commissioner called on his Collectors to take measures to relieve distress. On this Relief Committees were again appointed in each district: in June subscriptions were collected and grants made in addition by Government: a large number of relief centres were opened: food was distributed to the helpless and infirm gratuitously and work offered to those who could do any labour however small. In July these measures began to be in working order, and in August as many as 3,000 were relieved daily. The rains however were timely and abundant and the early *bhadoi* harvest almost put an end to the distress: a small number of paupers however remained on the hands of Government till the rice crop was cut in December.

It is not worth while to dilate on the system of relief then adopted, as more modern methods of famine administration now obtain.

Two articles in the *Calcutta Review* (Nos 90 and 91 of 1867) on Sir C Beadon's administration of Bengal contain a valuable appreciation of his character as it appeared to a contemporary observer, and comments on his career They are too long to quote, but an analysis of them will be interesting The writer's object was apparently to urge whatever could be said for the late Lieutenant-Governor (he had just retired) who was being generally blamed "In his manner he was excessively urbane and courteous, always ready to hear what people had to say and to receive and listen to suggestions from whatever quarter they came—he started with great expectations and a general cry of approval—he showed an anxiety to develop and assist the rising Tea interest—to open up Assam—to interpret the Waste Lands rules liberally—generally to identify himself with the interests of the European settlers—so fair was the start, how different the end—(" one might say that our late Lieutenant-Governor left these shores amidst one harmonious strain of unbroken universal ululation')—the Tirhut Indigo system tottering, the Assam Tea Industry collapsed,—for which he was abused by the English Press and held responsible—unpopular with the natives and part of his own service—how did this all happen ?—he possessed very great ability, a large capacity for hard work, untiring industry, and considerable skill in dealing with a knotty subject—an almost excessive facility in writing—his cast of mind was readier than his predecessor's, more pliant, quicker to seize the signs of the times, more open to new impressions—'the unvarying grace and courtesy of his manners',—he was a remarkably courageous man, sheer pluck carried him through—in the mutiny he never lost his firmness—his universally sanguine temperament, and tendency to take a sanguine view, influenced his actions in many matters in which his judgment has been questioned—of this temperament his treatment of the Orissa famine was the most conspicuous instance—he did not hunt after popularity—he would not sacrifice principle to popularity—he might have aimed at popularity by treating the famine differently—nor did he sacrifice principle to expediency—he was not in the foremost rank of administrators—magnificiently loyal towards subordinates and gaining warm attachment, he lacked the personal force and energy of character to subordinate other minds and wills to his own—public opinion distri-

The *Calcutta Review*

buted the blame for the Orissa famine but the main censure rested upon him—as the most prominent certainly the most convenient victim he being directly responsible for the Government of the province—no official in Orissa (with perhaps one exception) really understood up to the middle of May 1866 the true nature of the calamity i e., the want of rice—Sir C Beadon did not discourage free expression of opinions when visiting Orissa—his 2 fundamental errors were his belief that there was enough rice in the province to support the population if they had money and his belief that rice would find its way by the natural course of demand and supply and that Government interference with trade was of all things to be deprecated—these errors were shared by others but both expectations proved to be wrong—did the facts justify his belief?—the belief was general that there was sufficient rice—the Bengal Government accepted too readily the sanguine views of the local officers—most men would have acted as Sir C Beadon did—the system of administration was to blame which provided no means of acquiring information—he shifted none of the blame on others—his errors were shared by the Government of India not by the Viceroy personally—some attached the main responsibility to the Board of Revenue—Sir C Beadon had lost popularity by advising the mission to Bhutan but he was not responsible for the conduct of the war—he came into antagonism with the Press and to despise their advice—it was not fair to blame him with regard to the Labour Transport Laws or the Indigo troubles in Tirhut—or the Waste Lands rules—the collapse of the

promote the best interests of the country, should not be lost sight of and forgotten We are told that there will never again be a civilian Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal However this may be, we feel assured that Bengal will be administered by many Governors or Lieutenant-Governors before it is ruled over by one worthier than Sir Cecil Beadon ' "

1842, was as Assistant Magistrate Collector of Rajshahi After holding various subordinate offices in the *mufassal*, he was from September 1845 to 1847 Private Secretary to the Deputy Governor, Sir Herbert Maddock and subsequently served for some years, December 1847-1851, in the Bengal Secretariat and in the Home and Foreign Secretariats of the Government of India In April 1851, at the special request of the Directors, he was appointed Secretary to the Bank of Bengal, and discharged the duties until 1st May 1854, when he became Secretary to the Government of Bengal, on that province being constituted a Lieutenant-Governorship In January 1857 he left India on Furlough, but in consequence of the mutiny returned in November of the same year, and after officiating for some 18 months in temporary appointments, one of which was that of Director-General of the Post Office, he was appointed by Lord Canning in April 1859 Secretary to the Government of India in the Home Department In offering him this appointment in cordial terms Lord Canning wrote "Judging from some experience I should think it possible to quit the duties of Post Master General without many pangs!" In 1862 he became a Member of the Council of the Governor-General, and had opportunities for displaying his administrative capacity to great advantage During the greater part of this time Lord Lawrence was Governor-General Between him and Sir W Grey there was considerable difference of opinion on questions of the greatest moment It was natural that their views on public affairs should be largely influenced by their very different antecedents Their opinions notably differed with reference to the treatment of the *talukdars* and the subordinate proprietors and tenants in Oudh,—a question on which the Chief Commissioner in Oudh, Sir Charles Wingfield, held views directly opposed to those of the Governor-General It was mainly due to Sir W Grey's intervention that this question was solved by a compromise which furnished probably as equitable a settlement as was possible in the circumstances of the case In other matters, and especially in resisting certain retrogade proposals made by Sir Charles Trevelyan when Financial Member of Council, Sir W Grey exercised a salutary influence on the Government While strongly opposed to the policy of excessive centralisation, which had cramped the energies of the Provincial Governments, he successfully opposed a proposal

for demoralising the Postal Department. He was also a staunch opponent of the income tax, holding that it was totally unsuited to the circumstances of India.* As a Member of Council he took an active part in discussions regarding the settlement of the land revenue in Orissa and other cognate questions which the famine brought into prominence. When he succeeded Sir C. Beadon as Lieutenant-Governor, Lord Halifax, in congratulating him on the appointment wrote: "There is no one I think so well qualified to fill it with advantage to the country." Very shortly after his assumption of the Government he had to consider and report upon various suggestions affecting the entire constitution of the Government of Bengal made partly in Sir George Campbell's report on the famine, and partly at the India Office. One proposal was to the effect that the Bengal Legislative Council should be abolished; that the Lieutenant-Governorship should cease to be a separate and distinct office, and that the duty should be discharged by one of the Members of the Governor-General's Council, who, subject to the control of the Governor-General in Council, should be *empowered to make laws* for the "non-regulation" districts; and that for the districts of Bengal proper and of Bihar all legislation should be entrusted to the Governor-General in Council. From these suggestions Sir W.

recommendation for strengthening the Bengal Government was not adopted, his Minute probably disposed for ever of the proposal to re-establish the system under which Bengal had been administered previously to 1854

As Lieutenant-Governor, Sir W Grey opposed the proposal to impose local taxation in the form of a land cess, as a means of providing primary education But he did not object to the imposition of local taxation for roads and other works of material utility His objections to the educational tax were based partly upon the terms of the permanent settlement of Bengal, and partly upon the impolicy and injustice, in his opinion, of requiring the landholders to defray the cost of elementary schools for all classes of the rural population His views did not commend themselves to the Government of Lord Mayo or to the Secretary of State, but were supported by several members of the Council of India Shortly before his retirement he was nominated a Knight Commander of the Order of the Star of India, and installed on the 27th February 1871 When he resigned the Government of Bengal on 1st March 1871, a year before he had completed the usual term of office, the expressions of regret were keen and general throughout Bengal, and efforts were made to induce him to withdraw his resignation In other parts of India, too, it was felt that when he left the country India had lost her best public servant

Nomination to Council—

His nomination to the Supreme Council in 1867 was described by the native Press as unexceptionable "A thoroughly conscientious man, possessed of considerable general ability, well-skilled in finance, and with just views on Indian policy, Mr Grey will prove an acquisition to Government He is a steady friend of improvement, and the natives will find in him a warm advocate of liberal measures"

—and the Lieutenant-Governorship

It is mentioned* by Mr Bosworth Smith that, when the vacancy was about to occur in the Lieutenant-Governorship on Sir C Beadon's retirement, the Governor-General recommended his Member of Council, Sir W Grey, "as a very able and zealous officer," adding, "there is no one available for the post who has greater claims, or who is better fitted for it He has plenty of moral pluck, and is very conscientious, a very

* Life of Lord Lawrence, Vol II Chap XIII

useful qualities in dealing with people down here *His Private* Secretaries were at different times, Captn H H Stansfield; his son Lieut. L. J H Grey and Captn. R. G Loch

Darjeeling Cantonment.

There had for some time past been doubts and difficulties attending the selection of the site for the Darjeeling Cantonment. The Sinchal site had proved unsatisfactory owing to its excessive rainfall and depressing climate The Commander-in-Chief in April 1867 after visiting Darjeeling gave his opinion in favour of placing the barracks upon the Jalapahar hill only the elevation of the latter being 1000 feet less than that of Sinchal the rainfall not so great and the officers and men of the garrison not so averse to it as to Sinchal Sir W Grey concurred in the view taken by Sir William Mansfield and recommended the adoption of the proposal A road was opened from the saddle to the new sites cleared on the Jalapahar hill and

done was nevertheless not so great as had been expected No loss of life was reported in any district, but considerable damage was done to property, especially to houses Some injury was also done to the crops on the ground, but not to any great extent, the principal crops having been housed before the inundations occurred

Most of the inundated tracts were visited by the district officers in person, and measures were at once organised by them, in connection with the influential residents in the neighbourhood, to afford immediate aid where required Little relief was asked for by the people Where employment was sought, it was at once provided, special grants for the purpose having been sanctioned for expenditure on public works Fears had also been entertained that the subsidence of the floods would be followed by a severe outbreak of disease, and preparations were made to meet the emergency But these anticipations were fortunately not realised

Inundations during the rains occur in Bengal in so many years that it is hardly worth while to mention them constantly, unless for some special reason For the time they do much damage and cause infinite inconvenience, not to speak of the loss of human and animal life, but they have a very fertilising effect on the soil and are generally succeeded by splendid crops

Tea Commission

Sir C Beadon had proposed the appointment of a special Commission for the purpose of inquiring into the causes which had affected the condition of the tea cultivation, and of ascertaining what measures might be adopted to preserve the interest from the serious ruin which seemed to threaten it, but the Government of India and the Secretary of State postponed its appointment until November 1867 when it would have greater facilities for reaching the tea districts In that month accordingly Mr W. Ainslie, c s, Mr H S Reid, c s, and Dr J M Cuningham were deputed to Assam as a Commission of Inquiry Besides these members, the Government of India also proposed to have 2 others to represent the tea and labouring interests respectively, but the Landholders' and Commercial Association, on being asked to nominate a member to represent the tea planters' interest, declined to do so on the plea that the time had gone by when such an inquiry as that proposed could be of any practical benefit to the teaplanters, and, in consequence of this decision the special representation of

the labouring interest was also considered unnecessary The Government of India, however did not agree with the Landholders Association that it would be inexpedient to proceed with the proposed inquiry and orders were therefore given to prosecute it The Landholders Association had particularly objected to the appointment of the Commission as tending to retard the improvement of the laws bearing on labour transport. But the Bill proposed by the Bengal Legislative Council to amend Acts III (B C) of 1863 and VI (B C) of 1865 not having been assented to by the Governor-General it was deemed by His Excellency particularly desirable to have further information on the working of the laws which remained in force and it was considered that such information would in reality expedite instead of retarding satisfactory legislation Besides the question of suitable legislation it was also highly desirable to ascertain the circumstances under which the cultivation of tea had hitherto been carried on with a view to ascertain the difficulties which the planters had to encounter and the means whereby the Government could give relief to them the position and condition of the labourers moreover notably demanded early and serious attention The Commission was therefore despatched at once to the tea districts to make the necessary

the Committee of the Justices of the Peace for Calcutta who had been appointed under Act X (B C) of 1866 Trustees for the improvement of the Port, resigned in October 1867 .The Committee had done little in the way of actual improvement, but they had collected some valuable information, and their Engineer, Mr Leonard, had matured several well considered plans and estimates, all of which were made over to Government on the resignation of the Committee While the best arrangements for the charge of the interests of the Port were still unsettled, and legislation was still pending, the improvements required on the river bank were not suffered to be delayed, the works being kept in progress through the direct agency of Government, the administration of the Port being vested in the Lieutenant-Governor by a temporary Act.

When the best method of providing for improvements in the Port of Calcutta had long been under consideration, Act V (B C) of 1870 was passed,[1] to give the Lieutenant-Governor power to appoint 9 Commissioners for making those improvements, to hold office for 2 years, one of them being appointed by the same authority Chairman and another Vice-Chairman They were created a Corporation with a common seal They were to prepare and submit to the Lieutenant-Governor, from time to time, a schedule of necessary officers and servants, with the salaries and allowances which they proposed to assign them They might make rules for the appointment of these officers and servants They might acquire and hold property, and all property which under the previous Act became vested in the Secretary of State was vested in the Commissioners They could neither contract for nor commence any work, the estimated cost of which exceeded Rs 2,000, until the plan and estimate thereof had been sanctioned by the Lieutenant-Governor If the estimate exceeded 2 *lakhs* of rupees, it was to be submitted for the approval of the Governor-General in Council The general nature of the works to be constructed by the Commissioners was described They included wharves, quays, jetties, and piers, landing-places, tramways, warehouses, reclamations of the river-bank or river-bed The Commissioners might from time to time raise money in such a way as the Lieutenant-Governor might direct with the sanction of the Governor-General When sufficient accommodation had been provided for the purpose, all vessels were to be obliged to load and unload at the

Commissioners' wharves, the Commissioners having power to frame a scale of *tolls, dues, rates and charges for* the landing and shipment of goods.

After the Commissioners had completed their arrangements and got affairs into working order, the Government of Bengal in February 1871 expressed an opinion that the time had come when the transfer of the charge of the Port proper to the Trustees might be advantageously carried out under the Act and on certain terms. The sanction of the Government of India was accordingly obtained to confer on the Commissioners the powers of the Conservator of the Port from the 1st April, 1871. This consent having been communicated to the Commissioners, they accepted the charge of the Port on certain terms, and it was afterwards determined that 3½ *lakhs* of rupees should be the amount of the reserve fund required to meet the charges arising from such events as a cyclone, &c.

[illegible]

The severe hurricane during the night of the 1st and morning of the 2nd November 1867 caused great loss of life and property, especially in Calcutta and the neighbouring districts.

much less than in October 1864, also there was no storm-wave, as on the earlier occasion On this account the ships in Port were generally able to ride out the storm, and most of them escaped without serious injury Some vessels, however, broke adrift from their anchors, and others from the anchor moorings, and these ships fouled others, doing much mutual damage But no ship was lost in the Port, although the destruction of small craft and boats of every description, containing property, was immense, the banks of the river being encumbered with floating casks, bales and goods of every kind The number of cargo boats lost was so great as for a time to put a stop in a very great degree to the business of the Port Much labour was expended in picking up and recovering sunken craft laden with grain and other produce A large number of boats (295) were also lost in the canals to the east of Calcutta, some of them were subsequently recovered Among the larger vessels lost were the Inland Steamer *Delhi* and a flat in Garden Reach belonging to the India General Steam Navigation Company A considerable number of Government vessals in the Port suffered more or less. The *Hope* Light Ship at the entrance of the eastern channel at the Sandheads was never heard of after the gale

Beyond the city of Calcutta and its suburbs, the effects of the hurricane were most disastrous in Port Canning, where the gale was accompanied by a storm-wave 5 feet high, the water of which passed over the town with fearful violence The station-house, goods' sheds, and railway hotel were all blown down, the Port Canning Company's store hulk *Hashemy* carried away a great portion of the railway jetty, and the fresh water tanks were salted by the storm-wave The total number of casualties reported was 90 About 500 head of cattle were destroyed

The calamity in some other portions of the 24-*Parganas* was equally severe, the centre of the storm having traversed the country stretching nearly due east from Calcutta to Basirhat on the Ichamati river In this line many villages were blown down wholesale, and their destruction was accompanied by much loss of human life, the more populous places which suffered severely being Baruipur, Diamond Harbour, Atharabanka, Basirhat, Gobardanga and Satkhira The storm-wave beginning from Saugor Island extended a very great distance to the extreme east of the district, and in the Kulpotton and

Kobadak rivers the water rose to 6 feet above the flood level. The storm was severely felt in Jessore and Nadia and as far as Dacca and Backergunge. Prompt measures had to be adopted for affording relief and a subscription was at once opened by the Chamber of Commerce in aid of the sufferers, and a Relief Committee appointed. This movement was supported by Government with a promise of doubling the funds collected by subscriptions. Instructions to the same effect were issued to the officers in the interior wherever local subscriptions might be raised and a margin of Rs. 20,000 was left in the treasuries of all districts affected by the cyclone to meet any demand made upon them on this account. Relief was most urgently demanded to the south of Calcutta. A local Relief Committee was therefore formed there at once with efficient agents, and the balance of the Famine Fund amounting to Rs. 18,750 was placed at the disposal of the Commissioner of the Division to be augmented by grants from the Cyclone Relief Fund. In Port Canning great distress was felt for want of fresh water which was obviated by the South Eastern Railway Company taking down 1,500 gallons of water by every train till the distress was removed. A steamer the *Pioneer* was also sent with supplies of good water and clothing to be distributed to the indigent in the places to the east of Canning which had suffered most severely. There was no general complaint of want of food the grantees or owners of the Sundarbans lots having assisted their tenantry with alacrity.

The subscriptions realised for the Relief Fund amounted to Rs. 90,976 and, an equal amount having been contributed by Government, the total sum available for distribution was Rs. 1,81,952. The total amount expended by the Relief Committee was estimated at Rs. 1,54,514.

that powers be given to the officer in charge to decide all marine cases, to save ship-masters the trouble of travelling down to Alipore. *3rd* that a certain moderate sum, not exceeding £5,000, be granted annually for 10 years for the benefit of the Municipality of Port Canning *4th* that the Telegraph from Canning to Halliday Island which had been sanctioned, be laid down without further delay, and that the restrictions be rescinded by which emigrant and troop ships were prevented from availing themselves of the new Port *5th* that prominent notice be given by Government to the shipping community generally of the fact that Port Canning was open as a Port *6th* that a certain number of the Government vessels and a certain quantity of the Government stores annually received in Calcutta be directed *viâ* Port Canning *7th* that, in lieu of existing arrangements, the Port Canning Company be empowered, as holders of most of the forest rights in the Sundarbans, to levy a cess or royalty on all the fire-wood, building material, forest produce, &c, as it passed into consumption in the large marts of Bengal

Mr Schiller added that the Canning Company would undertake to procure the transfer to themselves of all intermediate proprietory rights, and to give up to Government ⅓ of the gross revenue from these forest rights, on condition that such revenue be formed into a separate fund, (1) for giving the necessary support to the Canning Municipality, (2) for relieving the interest account between Government and the Calcutta and South-Eastern Railway and (3) for applying any surplus to general improvements in the Sundarbans. These proposals met with little favour from Government

During 1867-68 the lease of the forest products, on the terms previously stated, was granted to the Port Canning Company, but was withdrawn within a year, as the monopoly was found to exercise a very mischievous influence, and to be incompatible with the interests of the public

The scheme for the formation of a Port at Canning came again before Government in 1868-69 All efforts in this direction having proved futile, it seemed to the Local Government that the time had come for arriving at a definite conclusion in regard to the future connection of Government with the project, and it was proposed to the Government of India that Port Canning should, after the expiration of 12 months' notice, be abandoned as a Port The deterioration

of the Hooghly had not occurred as had been feared and trade had shown no inclination to go to Port Canning This recommendation was based on the conclusion that Government would not be justified in imposing on the public revenues further expenditure on account of the Port in the face of the fact that all the endeavours made since 1853 (the year in which experiments to improve the Hooghly were first made) to develop it had failed notwithstanding that irrespective of the outlay by the Port Canning Company and private individuals as well as by Government the State had disbursed directly or through the Municipality on shore and afloat, nearly 20 *lakhs* of rupees besides having made a railroad solely for the benefit of the Port at a cost of upwards of 60 *lakhs* of rupees which had failed to cover its working expenses To allow the public an opportunity of expressing their opinion on the subject, the papers were published in the *Gazette of India*

should purchase the South-Eastern Railway at a valuation, or take it on lease from Government The second proposition was made dependent on the grant of the first, but the first independent of the grant of the second

Subsequently, an entirely different scheme was submitted by Mr Schiller, its chief propositions being as follows —(1) that the Port Canning Municipality be empowered to purchase from the Port Canning Company their large agricultural property for a sum of 30 *lakhs* of rupees, by the issue of debenture bonds bearing 3 per cent interest, and redeemable with a premium over a period of 50 years, (2) that this landed property be administered in trust by Government for the benefit of the Municipality, until the debentures were entirely liquidated, and (3) that the money realized from the forest leases during the time that they remained in the hands of the Port Canning Company be formed into a special fund, bearing 5 per cent interest for the purpose of subsidising the Municipality and enabling it to fulfil the proposed engagements connected with the purchase of the Canning estates Mr. Schiller's proposals were communicated to the Government of India, with the remark that they could only be properly entertained if they were submitted by the holders of considerable interests in the Company, and that the local Government would not take steps in the matter unless it received some communication on the subject from authorized representatives of the shareholders

The Port Canning Company also proposed that that Port might be made free by suspending for a period of 5 years the Port charges on shipping, and by giving ships resorting to it the use of the Government moorings free of charge, that the rates for fare and freight on the railway be maintained for a period of 5 years, and that the foreshore of the Bidyadhari be made over to the Company On these requests Sir W Grey decided that no sufficient ground existed for conceding to Port Canning the privileges embraced by the first request of the Company The drawing away of traffic from the Hooghly to the Matla was no longer considered to be advantageous to the public generally, nor was the attempt supported by the mercantile community Events had also led to the belief that Port Canning was exposed to greater dangers from cyclones than Calcutta, and there was altogether nothing to warrant the Gov-

ernm nt in using spe ial m ans either to force or to bribe trade to resort *to the Matla in preference to the Hooghly* The Local Gov ernm nt saw no objection to guaranteeing the public against any increase in the railway rates for 5 years. The question of making over the Bidyadhari foreshore to the Port Canning Company was reserved for further consideration The Government of India decid d that moderate concessions not involving further permanent increase of the burden already imposed on Government might be made w th a view to attract commerce to the Port, and the following concessions were suggested —viz (1) the suspension of the levy of Port dues for 5 years (2) the reduction to the narrowest limits of the cost of maintaining the Port during those 5 years (3) the conditional transfer of the foreshore of the Bidyadhari river to the Company for a term of 5 years, the company being made respon sible during the period for the protection of the banks and being bound to abstain from levying tolls on passing navigation boats discharging cargo and goods and passengers passing on to the railway stations and to allow the public the use of its jetties and tramways free of charge and (4) the non alteration of the existing railway rates during the 5 years The Government of India also ordered an inquiry as to the possibility of making Port Canning the end of a line of navigation leading across the delta towards Dacca with a view to assist in the development of its trade

had been commuted for land, Rs 2,50,200 were held by the Port Canning Company, Rs 4,50,000 were held by Government, and Rs 1,60,700 by other parties, these last mentioned debentures being those which had become due. The Government of India decided that there was no obligation whatever on the part of Government to provide funds for the redemption of any of the debentures issued by the Municipality or for the payment of any other debts contracted by them

The finances of the Canning Municipality having been well-nigh exhausted, loans to the extent of Rs 22,200 were granted to them on the condition of their executing a mortgage of their landed property to Government subject to the prior claim of the debenture-holders The money was urgently wanted to meet the interest due on the uncontested debentures, and, as the Municipality were not able to raise funds to meet the claims on that account except by the sale of either the town lots or other municipal lands, it was necessary for Government to come forward and provide the funds.

Subsequently, proceedings of the Port Canning Company published in the newspapers went to show that, notwithstanding the large expenditure incurred and the concessions made by Government, the attempt to attract ships to the Port and to people the town of Canning had signally failed, that it was proposed to sell the rice-mills on the successful working of which large expectations were founded, and that it was intended to reorganise the Company, their attention being directed in future solely to the management of their *zamindari* property situated in the Sundarbans Thereupon the Local Government drew the attention of the Government of India to the proposals made in 1868 for the abandonment of the Port, suggesting that after a sufficient notice this measure should be carried out The Government of India, after calling for further information, decided that the Port should be closed, though the outer lightvessel might be maintained for the benefit of the Sundarbans trade During the previous 2 years only one vessel *per annum* had visited Port Canning, and one of these vessels was driven in, against her will, by stress of weather The closure of the Port therefore caused loss to no one while it saved *a lakh* of rupees a year of public money

Epidemic fever

During 1866 and 1867 the epidemic fever again attacked portions of the districts formerly affected by it, though not with the extreme violence of the outbreak of 1862

and 1863 The Government of India, being apprehensive that the suffering and mortality might recur sooner or later with increased violence desired that measures should be taken for obtaining full and early information on the drainage of that part of the country and how far it had been injuriously affected by railways and roads and the shutting up of outlets into rivers also that the sanitary measures suggested by the Commission appointed in 1864 to inquire into the causes of the fever should be carried out in every village the suggestions of the Commission being epitomized and translated into Bengali for village circulation Further inquiry was then made from the Commissioners of the Burdwan and Presidency Division as the previous investigations had not included the preparation of a comprehensive scheme of drainage for the affected districts. To remedy this defect Sir W Grey proposed that a special officer should be deputed to inquire into and settle the question whether the drainage of the country was or was not seriously defective and to suggest measures for removing such defects as might be found to exist. The Government of India however did not think any such inquiry to be called for and were besides of opinion that the subject was too large to be satisfactorily disposed of by the deputation of a single officer The point which the Government of India required to be cleared up was whether the system of roads and railways had injuriously affected the drainage of the country and an investigation on this point by a competent Engineer officer was authorized

could only have the effect of calling forth a passive opposition to all sanitary improvements This view was accepted by the Government of India, who left it to the Local Government to decide, in communication with the Sanitary Commissioner, to what extent the work of clearance ought to be insisted on, and what steps were necessary to carry it out.

Epidemic fever again broke out in 1868, in several districts, accompanied with unusual mortality in Jhenidah (Jessore) and Jangipur (Murshidabad), and Burdwan Government aid was afforded as before It was again recorded that this fever owed its origin to the endemic malarious and highly insanitary conditions of the soil and of the surface of the country from defective drainage, want of tillage, crowded habitations and foul drinking-water, the effect of all being heightened by the poverty of the inhabitants and its attendant depressing influences An inquiry by a competent Engineer had been instituted to ascertain whether the system of roads and railways had injuriously affected the drainage of the country so as to tend in any way to increase the suffering and mortality caused by epidemic fevers The conclusion arrived at was that the roads and railways in Lower Bengal did not obstruct the drainage of the country so far as to cause or aggravate sickness, but some obstruction was thought to be inevitable and to require remedy as far as possible by the provision of side drains or otherwise It was held that a certain amount of unhealthiness appeared due to a want of drainage and that improvement could only be effected by Government under proper regulations and special legislation, after the examination of particular tracts and the preparation of drainage schemes

Reports having been received early in 1869 that epidemic fever was prevailing in the districts of Hooghly and Burdwan, Government deputed Dr D B Smith, the Sanitary Commissioner, to those localities to investigate and report This officer strongly advised the establishment of dispensaries for the relief of the sick-poor Under a scheme proposed by the Commissioner a system of dispensaries and hospitals was established for the Hooghly district, under the Civil Surgeon, to afford relief to certain circles of villages where the fever was most severe This scheme provided for the strengthening of 5 existing establishments, and for the establishment of 9

new dispensaries. Similarly in the district of Burdwan the dispe were increased

Fever of a severe and fatal type also broke out simulta in the town of Burdwan The Sanitary Commissioner r that it was of a persistent type and on the increase Great di was experienced in dealing with it, owing to numbers bein trated by it and the inability of the poorer classes from debil utter loss of strength to earn their livelihood A European r officer and medical stores were sent up from Calcutta. K and depots for the supply of cooked and uncooked foo destitute sick were also established These measures, it was b were the means of improving the health of the people and hundreds of lives who otherwise would have perished from e want. The general health of these places much improve the measures employed In meeting the crisis all the office cerned displayed commendable energy and the thanks of th ernment of India were conveyed to them for their services

The cost of all that was done in both districts was (with c ption of the salary of the special European medical officer d and the value of the medicines supplied from Government met, without aid from the State partly from donations subscr and local sources but principally from the munificent liberality Maharaja of Burdwan who placed funds for the purpose at posal of the Lieutenant Governor from time to time as re The munifi nce of the Maharaja left b sides a considerabl available to meet any return of the fever Government broug conduct of the Maharaja to the special notice of the Secre State

swamps in the Hooghly district was prepared and an Act, V (B. C) of 1871 to facilitate drainage in certain districts of Bengal was passed (by Sir G Campbell) to give the authorities the compulsory powers required The Act was intended to be experimental, so that if it succeeded the principle might be applied to other parts of the country and other marshes In this case the proprietors had consented to accept the scheme which involved local rating and apportionment of the costs by the drainage Commissioners

By a Resolution dated 19th August 1867, the Government of India invited the attention of the Bengal Government to the orders of the Secretary of State directing a careful review of the question of the prospects which should be offered to native officers of ability in the public service, and of the expediency of modifying the existing state of things which practically set a bar to their aspirations by the limited promotion which was accessible to them The Government of India admitted the urgent political necessity created by the progress of education for opening to the natives a more important, dignified, lucrative sphere of employment than had hitherto been open to them in the administration of British India In regard to the Regulation Provinces, the law reserved all higher appointments for the Civil Service, admission to which however was open to natives (and had actually been obtained by one Bengali gentleman) by their proceeding to England and passing the competitive examination held there Moreover, the salaries of the judicial offices open to the Uncovenanted Service had been recently considerably increased The Government of India were therefore of opinion that what remained to be done was to open a field for the legitimate ambition of deserving natives in the Non-Regulation Provinces The Governor-General in Council accordingly proposed formally to recognize the eligibility of natives to the rank and emoluments of Assistant Commissioners and Small Cause Court Judges in the Non-Regulation Provinces, and to fix a definite proportion which they should bear to Civilians, Military men, and Uncovenanted Englishmen In carrying this into effect, due regard was to be paid to the difficulty which natives entrusted with administrative duties experience in dealing with independent Europeans

Employment of natives.

After correspondence, the Governor-General in Council declared

that he did not at present contemplate anything more than the promotion of deserving and carefully selected natives from inferior posts to Assistant Commissionerships, the highest grade of the latter rank being made the limit of such promotion; and in this view the proportion which native officers in Assam might bear to the full complement of Assistant Commissioners was fixed at one-fourth. The Government of India also suggested that a definite proportion should be similarly fixed for general adoption of the strength which native officers might bear to European officers in the grade of Extra Assistant Commissioners, and it was proposed to fix this at one-half, it being understood that it should not be considered imperative at all times to maintain this or any precise proportion, the local Government being left free, as in the case of appointments in the subordinate Executive Service in the Regulation Provinces, to employ the largest number of natives that could be so employed with advantage to the public service; otherwise it might appear that the fixing a minimum proportion of natives would be equivalent to a restriction of the privilege hitherto enjoyed by them of being eligible to any number of appointments for which qualified candidate might be found.

The Secretary of State in noticing the Resolution of the 19th August 186[illegible] observed that the principle of opening up to natives of ability and character a more dignified and lucrative sphere of employment in the administration of the country might, it appeared to him, be carried out not only in the Non-Regulation but also in the Regulation Provinces, as besides the more important and responsible appointments in the latter which were reserved by law to the Covenanted Civil Service, there was a large class of appointments scarcely less honourable and lucrative than the others to which the natives of India had a preferential claim. The Government of India accordingly asked the Local Government to bear the wishes of Her Majesty's Government in mind and [illegible] the steps that might be taken to fulfil them.

the appointment was meant to be given The right was reserved to admit independently gentlemen who had served Government in other capacities for some years In 1868-69 the strength of the Subordinate Executive Service which had been fixed at 200 in 1856 was increased by 16 additional appointments The grades were reorganized after the transfer of rent suits to the Civil Courts in 1869 In 1869-70 this service memorialized Government to obtain higher salaries but, though Sir W Grey supported the application, the Government of India declined to entertain it in the state of the finances

Sanitary Commissioner appointed

The Secretary of State having sanctioned the introduction of a general system of sanitation throughout India, a special officer (Dr D B Smith) was appointed to carry out the sanitary improvements required in Bengal The Government of India sketched out a scheme of the duties to be assigned to the Sanitary Commissioner, which came under consideration in 1867-68 This scheme—it was urged by the Sanitary Commissioner—was so comprehensive that no single officer could do justice to it within such an extensive area as that of Bengal It was therefore modified by the Local Government, and the new Department was started on a more limited basis

Revision of ministerial establishments

A Committee, which had been appointed by Sir C Beadon for the revision of the salaries of all the ministerial establishments attached to the Divisional and district Courts in Bengal, submitted a complete scheme for providing a general increase of the salaries of all ministerial officers attached to the Courts of the Commissioners, Judges, Collectors, Magistrates, and Uncovenanted Judicial officers in the Lower Provinces and the permission of the Government of India was obtained to give effect to this scheme The total increase recommended by the Committee amounted to Rs 8,03 904 The increase proposed for the English offices was, however, disallowed by the Government of India, because the establishments attached to such offices in other provinces had not received any increase of pay, and also because these establishments

To offices or Courts of Judges, Collectors, Magistrates and subordinate Judicial officers in the Regulation districts	Rs 5,55,276
To Courts in the Regulation districts not included in the above	Rs 1,42,044
To Courts in the Non Regulation districts	Rs 80,868
To English offices	Rs 25,716
	Rs 8,03,904

were specially exempted from the revision previously carried out in the vernacular establishments attached to the Judicial and Revenue Courts The rest of the scheme was sanctioned No officer was to be admitted to the benefit of the new scales of salaries without full consideration of fitness to obtain such admission and it was to be carefully ascertained whether reductions in the number borne on the existing establishments might not be made The scheme was carried into effect from the 1st May 1868

Appointment of another Secretary to Government.

The amount of Civil business devolving on the Government of Bengal having become too large to be transacted with promptitude and efficiency by a Lieutenant Governor supported by only one Secretary and Under Secretary and a continuance of this state of things being alike injurious to the public interests and unjust to the officers concerned an increase was made to the Secretariat staff with the permission of the Government of India by the appointment of an additional Secretary on a salary of Rupees 30 000 a year It was also proposed to increase the salary of the Secretary from Rs 36 000 to Rupees 50,000 *per annum* with a view to place it on the same footing as the Chief Secretaryship in Madras and Bombay This proposal was not sanctioned Eventually it was settled that the

a strong outbreak of opposition on the part of the Rani and the hill tribes subordinate to Keonjhur who were devotedly attached to her Deputations were sent to Calcutta to represent their case to the Lieutenant-Governor, and to the Chiefs so deputed it was carefully explained why Government would not recognize a fictitious adoption such as that of Brindaban Chandra Bhunj They were assured on the other hand that no oppression would be permitted to be practised on them by the young Raja or his advisers Matters continued in a very unsettled state during December and January 1867-8 The Superintendent of the Tributary *Mahals* of Cuttack had personally to remain in Keonjhur and it was only when aided by the presence of the Commissioner of Chota Nagpur, who brought with him the Seraikela Chief brother of the ex-Rani of Keonjhur, that the negotiations assumed a favourable turn and the large gatherings of hill-men in the forests began to listen to reason

Ultimately however the Rani consented to withdraw her factious opposition a proper settlement was made for her support and the hill tribes, the Bhuias or Bhuniyas, united with the rest of the Keonjhur people in formally recognising Dhununjoy as their Raja

The peaceable conclusion of the Keonjhur disturbances proved not to be lasting Suddenly on the 28th of April 1868, scarcely 3 months after the cessation of the disturbances, a fresh outbreak occurred of which the immediate cause was obscure The Commissioner of Chota Nagpur attributed it to some treacherous and impolitic action of the Bewartha, or chief minister of the State, while the Superintendent of the Cuttack Tributary *Mahals* suspected the Rani, and the Raja of Mohurbhunj, a brother of Brindaban Chandra Bhunj, of secretly fomenting the disaffection Ratna Naik, the leader of the Bhuias of the hill tracts of Keonjhur, who had all along been one of the most refractory chiefs in the late insurrection, organised a combination among his own and the other hill tribes in opposition to the Raja's authority Large assemblages took place and persons sent out to treat with them were arrested, detained, and plundered They sacked the Keonjhur bazar, carried off the chief minister, intimidated the well-disposed *raiyats* and burnt villages The Raja became alarmed for his own safety and applied to Government for the aid of police, declaring his own *paiks* to be untrustworthy Dr Hayes, Deputy Commissioner of Singbhum,

who was acquainted with the people and possessed some influence over them was ordered to the spot with a force of police and reinforcements were held in readiness at Balasore More police were sent up to Keonjhur to keep open communications and to create confidence among the people and prevent their joining the Bhulas The Superintendent addressed a *parwana* to the Bhulas and another to the dowager Rani and the Raja of Mohurbhunj calling upon the former to disperse and reminding them of their promises to the Raja and warning the latter against encouraging or assisting the disaffected

On arriving at Jaintghar on the border of Keonjhur on the 1st May Dr Hayes found an extensive opposition against the Raja but believed it to be directed mainly against the Bewartha. Soon however he learnt that the Bewartha and about 50 adherents of the Raja had been carried off to the hills with the object of detaining them as hostages until the installation of Brindaban The insurgents, numbering about 20 000 had disarmed the police at the Garh and dismounted the guns The entire country was disorganized and plundering was rife The wild clans Juangas and Kols, united with the Bhulas and were countenanced by the other races Both Raja Dhununjoy and the Rani were at the Garh but the Raja's authority was at an end and the Rani's authority alone prevailed The combination appeared most serious and a considerable force was deemed necessary to suppress it The season was against successful operations in the hills

A force of police and regular troops was at once ordered up to restore order It was in contemplation to remove the Rani to Puri or Ranchi unless she gave in a willing adherence to the Raja and Brindaban Chandra was ordered to proceed to Balasore and reside there

He was joined by Mr Ritchie with a body of police from Chaibassa On the 9th May, finding that the Bhuias had not released the captives, Dr Hayes made an expedition into the Bhuia country, to gain information The people fled at his approach On reaching Tarpur, the residence of the chief instigator, Ratna Naik, he found the place deserted and obtained no news of the captives He had an interview at Betheapada with some of the leading men who asked for 6 days time to consult the headmen of the other *dandpats* with regard to the delivery of the captives, and engaged to meet him at Keonjhur if he would return there While suspecting this to be a mere subterfuge to gain time Dr Hayes, wishing to succeed by conciliation, if possible, acceded to their request On reaching Keonjhur, he found the malcontents collected in large numbers around the Garh in an important position at Jonardhanpur, about 3 miles distant, commanding the road to Chaibassa, after some resistance, but without recourse to firing, they were dislodged and a great number disarmed The chiefs failed to appear on the appointed day but reports of a large assemblage and a meditated attack on the party at the Garh were received Dr Hayes now considered hostilities inevitable and applied for 300 troops The rains had set in heavily, causing sickness, and supplies were getting scarce On the arrival of supplies and reinforcements, police and native infantry, Dr Hayes directed his efforts towards breaking up the combination between the hill Bhuias and the people of the plains, and inducing the latter to return to their homes and cultivate their lands With this object several posts in the country at the foot of the hills were occupied, partly by strong guards of police and partly by armed *paiks* Events in the neighbourhood of Keonjhur however showed that the opposition had assumed a serious character Some of the police engaged to keep open postal communications with Keonjhur had been surprised and taken prisoners at Tara In an attempt made to establish an outpost 6 or 7 miles from the Garh, on the 21st Mr Ritchie with a party of 50 police was attacked and surrounded by about 2,000 Bhuias, but opened fire and dispersed the assailants Communications with Cuttack and Chaibassa were closed, the *daks* plundered, and 3 attacks upon the camp were made by the Bhuias, without success A detachment of troops from Chaibassa under Major Gahagan

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Dr Hayes with a small guard of Singhbhum Kols reached Keonjhar on the [illegible]th May unopposed He found the Raja re[illegible] [illegible] by the wild tribes armed with bows and arrows axes [illegible] disarmed them and easily turned them out of the Garh [illegible] were reassured by his arrival The Raja and the [illegible] were [illegible] to be on good terms [illegible] the authority of [illegible] was [illegible] Dr Hayes [illegible] demand for the release of the [illegible] and [illegible]

reached Keonjhur and thus reinforced Dr Hayes was enabled to strengthen the outposts and to repel attacks but the weather and sickness prevented measures of retaliation

The Mohurbhunj Raja besides supplying men did good service and gave proofs of his loyalty by arresting and making over to the Superintendent messengers sent to him by the Bhuias with overtures from their establishments and otherwise the complicity of the Rani with Ratna Naik and others in originating the disturbances seemed to be clear With the reinforcements the strength* at Keonjhur amounted to 1 134 officers and men all told

Colonel Dalton Commissioner of Chota Nagpur sent an expedition into the north eastern division of Keonjhur to compel the submission of the chiefs and bring in all the principal men who surrendered Rumours of the murder of the Bewartha were confirmed A detachment under Lieutenant Hunter succeeded in finding and rescuing a party of constables from confinement at a village which had for some time been the head-quarters of Ratna Naik who fled with the inhabitants when the force entered The mails plundered at different times were found in his house Another message was sent to the Bhuias inviting them to submit and promising clemency to those who surrendered Some seizures of insurgents were effected and some portions of the country were subdued On the 7th July the Superintendent Mr Ravenshaw arrived and assumed charge of affairs with Colonel Dalton Expeditions were sent out in various directions The insurgents betook themselves to hiding places in the hills and no opposition was anywhere encountered Herds of cattle and stores of grain were brought away and villages which had sided with the insurrection were burnt The Bhuias petitioned for 15 days time to arrange for submission they were encouraged to come in but were informed that no suspension of hostilities would in the meantime be granted Rewards were offered for the capture of the principal leaders Ratna Naik and others On this occasion active loyalty was exhibited by [illegible] Singh Deo Bahadur [illegible] of [illegible] and by [illegible] Jaldar Singh of [illegible] a *jemadar* of Chota [illegible] Kol Chief and *sardars* This [illegible] unsolicited [illegible] and [illegible] in the operations [illegible] was [illegible] that the [illegible by the hill country] was penetrated and

several *sardars* captured In remarkable contrast to our own unacclimatized troops the followers of the Rajas were comparatively free from sickness and easily provided themselves with food from the stores of the rebels The latter had now lost all heart, many Bhuia headmen tendered their submission, and more leaders were captured, including Ratna Naik, the principal instigator The brief struggle drew to a close and the country was entirely subjugated

By the end of August the work of pacification had so far advanced that the gradual withdrawal of the troops, amongst whom considerable sickness prevailed, could be ordered The Rani was conveyed to Cuttack pending a decision with regard to her part in the late disturbances Colonel Dalton returned to Ranchi, the management of affairs being left in the hands of Mr Ravenshaw, who had to hold a judicial inquiry into the offences with which the prisoners reserved for trial were charged

In addition to the general charges of waging war against the Queen, plunder, *dacoity*, and kidnapping, there was distinct evidence of the deliberate murder of the Bewartha and 3 other persons The trials resulted in the conviction of 183 prisoners, of whom Ratna Naik and 4 others were sentenced to death, 27 to transportation for life, and the rest to periods of imprisonment The capital sentences against 3 of the prisoners who acted as subordinate agents, were commuted to transportation for life, the other sentences were all confirmed A severe but necessary example was thus made, as a warning against similar outbreaks in future The prisoners were conducted under proper escort to Cuttack, where the capital sentences on Ratna Naik and his 3 prominent associates were carried out

Affairs were in a sufficiently settled state to admit of Mr Ravenshaw s return on the 1st November It was judged expedient to leave a force of 200 police to afford substantial support and protection to the Raja until disaffection should have disappeared and complete order and confidence should be restored Lieutenant Johnstone was placed in charge as Civil Officer, to advise the Raja and effect a reconciliation with the late disaffected tribes The country soon quieted down peaceably In 2 years it was reported that the people had quite settled down to their ordinary pursuits, and the disturbances were almost forgotten All differences had ceased and the Raja was acknowledged by all parties the Bhuias had paid

their accustomed homage to the Raja, visited him and consulted him about their affairs. The State had been mainly administered by Lieutenant Johnstone who displayed marked capacity for governing a rude and uncivilized tribe. (He was subsequently Sir James Johnstone K.C.S.I. for services in Manipur.)

Sir W. Grey's views on changes in the form of the Government of Bengal

Early in 1868 Her Majesty's Government, through the Secretary of State, directed their attention to the working of the machinery of administration in the Presidency of Bengal, in connection with the report of the Orissa Famine Commission and the discussion which had arisen therefrom as to the change, if any, required in the form of the Government of Bengal. Sir Stafford Northcote, in a despatch of the 16th January of that year, formulated the following definite questions to the Government of India and asked for their advice and opinion:—

Assuming that no change is made for the present as to the site of the Capital of India, would you recommend that Bengal should be placed under a Government similar to that of the Presidencies of Madras and Bombay?

If you are not of that opinion, would you recommend that the present form of Government for Bengal and present relations between it and the general Government, should be maintained?

Or would you consider it preferable that the local administration of Bengal should be placed in the same hands as the general administration of India, and, if so, what arrangements would you propose in order to give effect to that system?

that provision should be made for the case of the Governor-General's being called away from Bengal to any other part of India, when not accompanied by his Council in a body"

The Secretary of State also raised other points—viz, as to the establishment of summary powers of legislation—the site of the Capital of India—the best mode of strengthening the Secretariat and other executive details of the Bengal administration,—such as whether the Board of Revenue should cease to exist on its present footing Sir W Grey had already considered the proposals of the Orissa Famine Commission for changes in the executive machinery of Bengal, and soon afterwards wrote his views on the questions put by the Secretary of State His opinions on the whole subject were given at length, and may be summarized as follows He was entirely opposed to the idea of making the Head of the Local Government an *ex-officio* Member of the Executive Council of the Government of India, he preferred to strengthen the Local Government by giving it greater authority and loosening its relations with the Supreme Government he thought the best form of Government for Bengal was that which had long obtained in Madras and Bombay, i e a Governor with a Council, with each Member undertaking the executive work of certain departments he regarded the abolition of the Board of Revenue as resolved upon, and proposed the transfer of all Land Revenue work direct to Government, and the creation of a Chief Commissioner of Miscellaneous Revenue he advocated an establishment of 3 Secretaries and 11 Divisional Commissioners with increased powers and with control over the police he strongly opposed the idea of abolishing the local legislatures after only 6 years' experience—he deprecated the separation of Assam from Bengal by the Government of India taking it under its immediate authority, but proposed that it should be placed on the same footing to Bengal as Sind to Bombay—he thought it undesirable that the Government of India should at all times be present in Bengal, or that the Governor-General should himself visit other parts of India, leaving his Council behind in Bengal He dealt fully with other minor points which need not be mentioned

The Viceroy (Lord Lawrence) was generally in favour of maintaining the *status in quo* in Bengal, but *inter alia* advocated the abolition of the Board of Revenue, and the substitution of a

Financial Commissioner A series of elaborate Minutes was written by the Viceroy and every Member of the Council amounting with Sir W Grey's to 94 pages of printed foolscap to which justice could not be done without fuller analysis than space permits The discussion proved to be altogether academical and infructuous The opinions of the Members of the Government of India differed from one another on each point. Accordingly the Government of India adopted the unusual course of sending home to the Secretary of State in March 1868 all the Minutes *in extenso* without attempting to give any collective expression of their opinions and the question has not since come within the range of practical politics

The Shoe-question.

The Shoe-question was the subject of an official pronouncement in March 1868 by the Government of India who had for some time past had under its consideration the manner in which natives of India who had adopted the European style in respect of boots and shoes should be permitted to appear on official or semi official occasions in the presence of the servants of the British Government. The matter was regarded as not devoid of importance as affecting the treatment of the upper classes of natives by British officers and after consulting all the principal officers in the country civil and political the Governor General was of opinion that a definite and special rule on the subject had become necessary The Government Resolution proceeded :—

pursue, or individual native gentlemen might feel uncertain as to what they are or are not entitled to do, and thus embarrassing personal questions might from time to time arise

His Excellency in Council is therefore pleased to rule that all natives of India wearing boots and shoes of European fashion may appear thus habited before all the servants of Government, in all places within the Bengal Presidency and its dependencies, on all official or semi-official occasions, including *darbars* of all descriptions In the case of natives wearing shoes of Indian fashion, the old social practice, whereby such shoes must be taken off within the customary limits, will be maintained by the servants of Government in their official or semi-official capacities

In the High Courts established by Royal Charter, it will of course be for the Judges to decide whether any rule on the point is required for those Courts"

Mufassal Municipalities

In 1868 another Municipal Act, VI (B C) the District Town Act, was intended to apply to small towns, and gave in theory at least a larger measure of self-government than the Act of 1864 The Municipal Committee was to consist of not less than 5 persons, of whom not more than ⅓ might be officials They were to be ordinarily nominated by the Magistrate, unless Government should otherwise direct They were to elect their own Chairman, and Vice Chairman, unless Government should appoint the Magistrate to be Chairman *ex-officio* The only taxation allowed by the Act was levied from the occupiers, instead of owners, and assessed upon an estimate of the circumstances and property of the persons liable to it The town fund thereby raised was applicable first to the payment of police, and then to the repair of roads or streets, to the conservancy or general improvement of the town, and to the maintenance of dispensaries and vaccination In fact the Committees were not executive but only consultative bodies, to assist the Magistrate by their advice, to check expenditure and to frame assessments

Indigo difficulties in Bihar

In 1867-8 there was a strong demonstration against the cultivation of indigo in the district of Champaran, accompanied by instances of illegal violence The real causes of dissatisfaction on the part of the *rayats* were believed to be (1) the unusual trouble, hard labour, and constant call on their energy required to carry on the high system of cultivation necessary for the successful production of the indigo plant, (2) the constant

harassment caused to the *raiyats* by the factory servants who besides committing other acts of oppression, were alleged to be in the habit of taking a very large percentage of the payments made to the *raiyats* as their own perquisites under the general name of *dasturi* (3) the fact that the rates which were then being paid for indigo cultivation (apart from all contingent and indirect advantages which the planters were able to give the cultivators) did not give adequate remuneration for the labour expended on the task (4) the wide spread knowledge existing among cultivators that enormous profits were derived from indigo and the natural desire on their part to obtain a larger share of this profit (5) the existing high prices of food which had raised the profits of the production of food grains and therefore made indigo still more unpopular than before and (6) the absence on the part of the present race of managers of factories of that sympathy with the *raiyats* which used formerly to be felt by the old proprietor planters who paid much more attention to the well being of their tenantry These causes had for some time prepared the mind of the *raiyats* for the movement to which it was believed they were immediately instigated by certain persons who had their own interests to serve and this belief appeared to be borne out by the fact that the open opposition to the planters was mainly confined to the estates of the Maharaja of Bettia with which the persons referred to were connected as farmers The management of the Bettia estate by an English gentleman was said to have given rise to much dissatisfaction among the influential natives of the

example was rapidly followed by other villagers The aim of the officials under these circumstances was confined (1) to preserving the peace between the contending parties, in which they were so far successful that the factory people were not aggressors in a single instance, and (2) to inducing the planters to raise the rates of remuneration, which resulted in their agreeing to pay Rs 12/ per *bigha* where they had hitherto paid from Rs 7-8 to Rs 9 The planters were urged to put a stop to the practice of the factory servants deducting a percentage as *dasturi* from the advances given to the cultivators As the interests of the planters at stake were very considerable, and it was necessary that they should receive prompt and final decisions on their complaints, the Government at their request established a Small Cause Court at Motihari, with jurisdiction over the entire district of Champaran for the trial of all cases of breach of contract between them and the *raiyats*, and, having regard to the strong feeling of excitement between the two parties, the Court was composed of two Judges, the one a convenanted Civil Servant and the other a native gentleman selected for his ability, independence, and judicial experience, and these 2 officers were directed to sit together for the trial of all suits connected with the indigo question The result of this measure was entirely satisfactory Mr Bell, the officer who was deputed to preside in the Court exercised his influence judiciously and successfully out of Court, by explaining to the *raiyats* their exact position as to rights and liabilities But few suits were instituted, the mere knowledge that such a Court was at hand to enforce promptly the payment of damages for breach of contracts being apparently sufficient to deter the *raiyats* from wantonly breaking them At the same time the demands of the *raiyats* were met by concessions from the planters, whose bearing was most moderate and temperate throughout this trying period Within 9 weeks of the establishment of the Court, the Lieutenant-Governor was able to put an end to its special constitution, leaving the native Judge only to preside over it Before it was too late to retrieve the prospects of the indigo season, all open opposition to the cultivation had ceased

The disputes between the *raiyats* and planters had at one time threatened to become very serious The *raiyats* were apparently determined not to carry out their contracts to sow indigo, the result

of such conduct would have been not only heavy loss to the factories but eventual ruin to the *raiyats* themselves. The local officers almost unanimously reported that the cultivation of indigo had become very unpopular and that there was not a *raiyat* who would not abandon the cultivation if he could and this state of things was ascribed as much to the insufficiency of the remuneration which the *raiyats* received as to the exactions oppression and annoyance to which they were exposed at the hands of the factory servants. Government was satisfied that the time had passed when planters could hope to carry on an indigo concern profitably by forcing on the *raiyats* a cultivation and labour which was to them unprofitable and it was clear that in the altered circumstances of the time they must be prepared either to close their factories or to give to the *raiyats* in some shape or other a remuneration which should make it worth their while to grow indigo. This necessity was recognised by the general body of Tirhut and Champaran planters and they yielded to the pressure raising the rate of remuneration from Rs. 8 to Rs. 12 per *bigha*. Action on the part of Government was confined to throwing the weight of the influence of its officers on the side of this party or that to induce it to abstain from what was obviously indefensible and to concede what was obviously right. Beyond this Government merely provided the promptest and most efficacious means of obtaining judicial redress against intentional wrong-doers. Managers of indigo concerns saw clearly the danger they had so narrowly escaped and a belief was expressed that they would be careful to guard against falling into such an error again. On the other hand if after what had occurred any of the proprietors or managers still obstinately refused to adapt their terms to the changed circumstances of the time the result would no doubt be their speedy ruin for which they only would be responsible. But in any case it was laid down Government could do no more than it had done and any more direct interference on its part would

November 1868 his movements were limited to the districts of Malda and Rajmahal, but it appeared certain that a *jihad*, or religious war, against the British power had for some time been preached, and collections in aid of the Hindustani fanatics on the frontier made on a regularly organised system From 12 to 15 agents were arrested and kept under detention and it was thought probable, though by no means certain that charges of abetting the offences described in sections 121 and 122 of the Penal Code could be established against most of them With 1 or 2 exceptions however, they were men of inferior position and to proceed against them formally and at once would have rendered further inquiry difficult, if not impossible, while failure to secure conviction would have placed Government in a false and unfavourable position It was moreover very desirable to ascertain the full extent of this movement, and the course which seemed best was, that the leading preachers of sedition, as well as all foreign emissaries from the north-west frontier against whom any proof of complicity might be obtained, should be detained under Regulation III of 1818, the inferior and subordinate agents being liberated but carefully watched, and that the detective department should then quietly, but persistently, prosecute their inquiries, until, all the leaders of the movement had been ascertained, and, if necesary, secured, and their power for evil neutralised and checked Government would then be in a position to judge whether formal prosecution of any of those concerned was advisable and could be undertaken with reasonable hope of success Mr Reily was instructed to trace out the chain of agents through whom reinforcements of men and supplies of money were sent to the north-west frontier, and in the inquiries subsequently made this object was kept in view

It was found that this movement was extensively ramified and that there were agents stationed in different and distant parts of the country Several of the leading agents, against whom strong presumptive evidence was discovered, were held under detention, pending the final decision of Government A number of arrests were made of persons suspected of complicity in the efforts of the Wahabi fanatics to excite a *jihad*, and they were detained under Regulation III of 1818 Officers to whose custody they were committed were at the same time reminded that the prisoners were not to be treated

as criminals and where there was no separate place of confinement for them they were detained in the civil jail. Subsequently Mr Reily was deputed to Peshawar to collect further evidence as to the extent of the movement and the manner in which the individuals either in imprisonment or under surveillance were implicated. His mission was satisfactory in respect of the information on these points which he was enabled to obtain in the Panjab He then had to complete the cases against the men in detention with a view to bringing them as soon as possible to trial

In connection with the measures undertaken for the suppression of these intrigues it was considered whether it was not necessary to amend the law with the object of enabling Government to deal more satisfactorily with seditious proceedings not amounting to waging or attempting to wage or abetting the waging of war against the Queen In the opinion of the Government of Bengal such an amendment was required to meet cases of seditious preaching such as had been alleged against certain of the Wahabis and for which there seemed to be no satisfactory provision in the existing Code

The total number of persons arrested in connection with the Wahabi movement and detained as State prisoners under the Regulation was 26 The evidence collected in several of the cases having been considered by the law officers of Government sufficient to establish their guilt Sir W Grey authorized their prosecution on the charges specified in the margin and Mr J O Kinealy was appointed to conduct the prosecution on behalf of Government

1. Waging war against the Queen.
2. Attempting to wage war against the Queen.
3. Abetting the waging of war against the Queen.
4. Attempting to abet the waging of war against the Queen.
5. Abetting an attempt to wage war against the Queen.
6. [illegible] attempt to abet the waging of war against the Queen.
7. Preparing to wage war against the Queen, with the intention of either waging or being prepared to wage war against the Queen.

The trials were held at Malda Rajmahal and Patna One of the prisoners Haji Moniruddin was also committed to the Sessions Court of Rajshahi he was acquitted The prisoners tried at Malda and Rajmahal were Amiruddin of Malda and Ibrahim Mandal of Islampur both of whom were convicted and sentenced to transportation for life with forfeiture of property At Patna [illegible] prisoners including Amir Khan of Calcutta [illegible] the most influential of the Wahabi conspirators were committed to the Sessions

1. [illegible] Khan
2. [illegible]
3. Amir Khan
4. [illegible]
5. [illegible]
6. [illegible]

Court They were tried by the Judge, Mr. H T Prinsep, with the aid of 4 assessors, 2 of whom were Muhammadans At the close of the prosecution the Judge discharged Hashmadad Khan, for want of sufficient proof against him, remarking, however, that great suspicion attached to him The remaining 6 were put on their defence Pir Mahomed was acquitted, the rest were convicted and sentenced to transportation for life, with forfeiture of property All the other Wahabi prisoners were men of very small consequence, and were discharged by Government (most of them previous to the trial at Patna, and the remainder on its conclusion) with a warning that their conduct would be watched and reported on by the police The police were instructed to exercise a general surveillance over their doings, without however in any way directly interfering with them

All the prisoners sentenced at Patna appealed to the High Court The case was argued before a Bench consisting of the Chief Justice and 2 Puisne Judges, who in an unanimous judgment confirmed the conviction of Amir Khan and Tobarak Ali, but reversed the finding of the Judge as regards the 3 other prisoners, who were accordingly released Amir Khan was a wealthy banker and money lender He was released on the Proclamation of the Queen as Empress of India, 1st January 1877

Proposed formation of a distinct judicial branch of the Civil Service

In consequence of a despatch from the Secretary of State, the Government of India on the 9th April 1868, called for an expression of opinion on the following points — (1) Whether it is expedient that a distinct judicial branch of the Civil Service should be formed, the members of which should be trained specially for the duties of the Bench, and should not look for advancement beyond the sphere of those duties, and (2) whether there were any difficulties in accepting the principle of such a change absolutely with regard to the Indian Civil Service A select number of officers of experience and distinction serving the Bengal Government were consulted and in due course Sir W Grey recorded his views and recommendations on the subject He drew attention to the fact that, since the union of the officers of Magistrate and Collector in one person, the Magistrate-Collectors of districts had so little time to take up judicial work, that instead of acquiring in that post judicial experience and qualifying for

judgeships to which they were ordinarily promoted they were absolutely losing the good effect of the judicial training which as Assistant and Joint Magistrates they had enjoyed These executive duties so fully engrossed their attention that they had not even the opportunity of qualifying themselves by a course of reading such as before the union a Collector had ample time to undertake And while the opportunities of acquiring judicial knowledge and experience had thus diminished to the judge himself all around him had been moving onwards the judicial administration had become more and more scientific and exact the Subordinate Judges whom he had to control and the Bar with which he had to deal had advanced much not only in general education but particularly in the special education of their profession

Sir W Grey was satisfied that the general progress of events was such that if our administration of justice was to command respect and secure confidence the special qualifications of those who presided over the highest local Courts must be materially improved and that the proper means of doing this was to place them at a comparatively early period of life in a position which would concentrate their attention on the requirements of the judicial line as a profession would hold out inducements to them to perfect themselves in that profession by study and would afford them a practical training for it This could only be done by disconnecting the future judge from the distraction of executive duties by securing him against the chance of being called on in after life to discharge duties requiring executive qualification and by giving him distinctly to understand that he must look for advancement in the judicial line and in that alone

Nor was it only for the improvement of the judicial service that this separation was called for The administration on the executive side had also become more scientific and exact and the work of the executive officer was multiplying and extending upon every side In some of the larger districts the labour imposed by the union in one officer of executive and judicial administration was so great as to [illegible] the efficiency of the former as well as of the latter and in the smaller districts in which there was no second officer it was [illegible] had been more or less felt

Sir W Grey was of opinion that the simplest and most effective

plan of fulfilling the required conditions was to carry to completion the tendency which had displayed itself of late years to confine the Joint-Magistrate to judicial duties, leaving the executive to another officer, the Magistrate-Collector The former officer, who might be called the Assistant Judge, would under this arrangement be unavailable for executive work, and to him would fall the chief share of the criminal judicial work of the district The Assistant Judges and the judges would form a distinct judicial branch promotions being made direct from the former to the latter post

It was no part of the proposed scheme, nor was it considered advisable in itself, that the separation of executive and judicial functions should be carried out in the grades below the Joint-Magistrates While filling these lower appointments the Covenanted Civil Servant was learning his work and gaining a knowledge of the people, of the law, and of the system of administration It was clearly to his advantage that this education should be a general one, and at the same time it would not be possible in these appointments to make a division into executive and judicial without incurring considerable expenditure and without making violent changes in the existing arrangements, and probably also in the law But when an Assistant Magistrate had reached that period of service where, under present arrangements, he was appointed to fill a Joint Magistracy, he might reasonably be called on to decide between the judicial and executive lines and the Government would also have the means of determining for which he was best suited

It appeared to Sir W Grey that by establishing 5 grades of pay (Rs 10,800, 18,000, 23,000, 30,000 and 35,000) in each of the 2 branches of the service, these expectations could be rigidly respected, and the Civilian would attain at each period of service the same pay which he would enjoy under existing arrangements This plan would also fulfil another important condition, viz, that the inducements, in respect of salary, to enter each branch would be equal, and that contemporaries on either side would find themselves in nearly equal positions as regards salary The scheme proposed was to arrange the 66 judicial appointments and the 44 executive appointments, in the districts, on the grades of pay above-mentioned, so that the average pay of each judicial appointment came to Rs 21,894

and of each executive one Rs 22 260 a year It involved an increased expenditure of Rs 1 29 700 a year

It was part of the proposition that Assistant Judges should also exercise civil powers though it was doubtful whether this could enable Government to reduce its subordinate judicial establishment. It was Sir W Grey's object in his proposals to avoid as far as possible all necessity for legislation It did not appear to be necessary nor was it deemed expedient to deprive the district officer of all judicial power Sir W Grey believed that there was no form of judicial proceeding more satisfactory to the people of this country than a local investigation held by an officer of experience and standing in which he inquired into the matter on the spot and decided it on its merits without the intervention of *amla* or *mukhtars* and one great advantage of the proposed scheme was that it would leave the Magistrate Collector free to travel leisurely about the district to a much greater extent than he could before and place him in a position to dispose of a great many disputes arising out of questions connected with the occupation of land and cultivation without forcing the people into the Courts at the chief station of the district. It was proposed to leave to the Magistrate Collector the powers he then had only strengthening his position as regards the police and having it avowed that he was not expected or desired to exercise his judicial powers except when he believed that his doing so would be for the public good The Assistant Judge (Joint Magistrate) was also to be left in the position he already occupied as regards criminal jurisdiction

Hook swinging

The practice of hook swinging has been previously mentioned as having attracted the notice of Government. Cases were again stated in the newspapers to have taken place in the Midnapore and Dacca districts The reports of the local officers showed that in the cases alleged to have occurred in Midnapore the swingers had not used hooks As the interference of Government with native customs extended only so far as is necessary in the interests of humanity the practice of swinging during the *Charak puja* where there was no infliction of bodily torture had never been [illegible] In the cases [illegible] in the Dacca district hooks [illegible] been [illegible] The Commissioner reported that [illegible] had been punished but that

no steps had been taken against the *zamindars* in whose estates the cases were discovered The Magistrate of Dacca was instructed regularly to republish, a month before the commencement of the *Charak* festival, a notification warning the people against the practice of hook-swinging The revival of the custom in Dacca was attributed to the omission on the part of the executive authorities to publish such a notification for some time past

Education and Road cess

The Secretary of State had in 1859, when reviewing the results of the Education despatch of 1854, drawn the attention of Government to the continued neglect of the education of the mass of the people in their own vernaculars Acknowledging the failure of grants-in aid to encourage such education, he directed the levy of cesses on the land for village schools Such cesses had been first raised by Mr Thomason in the N W Provinces (Lieutenant-Governor, 1843-1853) Gradually the cesses were levied in other Provinces, except Bengal, and with notable success in Bombay Something had been done in the direction of extending the education of the people both by Sir J P Grant and Sir C Beadon From 1865, correspondence took place between the Government of India and the Government of Bengal on the subject of providing the funds required for the maintenance and extension of lower class vernacular education in Bengal The Government of India believed that Sir J P Grant's scheme had worked successfully, regarding it as an adaptation of the grant-in-aid system to the circumstances and requirements of elementary vernacular schools in Bengal, but laid it down in October 1867 that the State had never undertaken to provide funds for the education of the mass of the people, and that in Bengal the main burden of vernacular education should fall, not on the Imperial revenues, but as elsewhere on the proprietors of the land, and that steps should therefore be taken to raise the necessary funds from the owners of land, either in the shape of voluntary contributions (as in the Benares Division) or, as a separate tax for special local purposes, the Government aiding the funds to such extent as the state of the finances of the Empire might permit In a subsequent letter of April 1868 the Government of India, while observing with regret the almost total absence of proper means of provision for the elementary education of the agricultural classes forming the great mass of the

population declared further that it would in future decline to listen to any proposition the effect of which would be to throw upon the State the main burden of the cost of educating the people of Bengal and after referring to the educational cesses levied from proprietors in Bombay the N W Provinces Oudh the Central Provinces and the Panjab it again urged the necessity of raising funds in Bengal in the same manner and for similar purposes adding that the rate to be thus levied should be calculated for the purpose of roads also for which the proprietors of land in Bengal were paying nothing an opinion was expressed that the amount levied ought not to be less than 2 per cent. on the net assets or gross rental of the land

The question thus raised by the Government of India was carefully considered by the Local Government in consultation with the principal officers and the leading non official Associations and the information obtained was such as to force Sir W Grey to the conclusion that as the position of the proprietors of land in Bengal was so dissimilar to that of the proprietors of land in other parts of India, the proposed cess could not be levied in Bengal without considerable modification in the nature of the imposition The argument that a cess upon landholders only was warranted by the increase in their gross assets owing to extended cultivation and high prices could only be valid if it were shown that (1) the increased profit arising from these causes actually reached the *zamindars* and others who were under direct engagement with the Government for the payment of revenue and (2) that the landholders enjoying such increased profit had derived their estates by inheritance from the original settlement holders and had not purchased them at market rates as an investment for capital But as a fact in Bengal most of the *zamindars* had by the creation of permanent subordinate tenures placed themselves in the position of mere annuitants on their estates and did not share in any increase of profits while on the other hand the effect of the sale laws had been to transfer estates [illegible] at full value to recent purchasers An examination [illegible] nature of the land revenue in India generally and of the [illegible] imposed upon it in Bengal led Sir W Grey to the [illegible] that any cess for educational or other general purposes [illegible] be imposed [illegible] was of general direct tax on and

not left to fall on the landholders only But again it was capable of demonstration that, both as regards the rates and proceeds of taxation, Bengal was already more drawn upon than other provinces, while there could be no doubt that to impose a general tax for educational purposes would tend to check private bequests and make the system of education extremely unpopular It was questionable moreover, whether the hypothesis on which the Government of India based its opinion as to the deficiency of vernacular education in Bengal had itself any substantial ground of truth For all these reasons, the Government of India was requested to take the question into reconsideration At the same time, it was admitted that a scheme by which a cess could be laid upon land for the purpose of providing local roads by which the estates in the neighbourhood would directly benefit was not open to the same objections The Local Government having admitted the necessity of imposing a local tax for the purpose of providing local roads, the Government of India requested that the necessary steps might be taken to carry out the measure, referring especially to the state of the finances, which would preclude the Government from contributing as much as heretofore for the construction of roads in Bengal The question came fully under consideration on the receipt of the despatch of the 12th May 1870 on the subject of local cesses, from the Secretary of State, to whom the question was referred The Duke of Argyll communicated the orders of Her Majesty's Government, approving of the policy of the Government of India, which was that of Lord Derby's despatch of 1859, and directing the levy in Bengal, from property of all kinds accessible to such rates, of cesses for roads and village schools In a subsequent despatch the Secretary of State sanctioned certain arrangements by which less would be spent from the general funds on English Education and more on the instruction of the mass of the people in their own languages As the despatch (Educational) of the 12th May 1870 from the Duke of Argyll to the Government of India finanlly settled a much-vexed question, it is here quoted at length —

" I have had under my consideration in Council Your Excellency's despatch No 17 of the 31st December 1869, with a copy of further correspondence with the Government of Bengal "on the subject of providing from local sources the means of extending elementary education

condition of the people. The Government does, and it ought to do in India, much which in Europe is undertaken by private enterprise or by municipal and other local bodies. In India it may be said with substantial truth that private enterprise does not exist, and that the machinery for local taxation and expenditure is yet but imperfectly developed. In the Department of Public Works, both "Ordinary" and "Extraordinary" there is a large expenditure by the Government, which, in Europe would be met either by individuals or by Companies or would be defrayed by assessment. But there is still much absolutely requiring to be done if the condition of the people is to be improved which the Government cannot overtake out of imperial funds. It cannot, out of the means now remaining at its disposal make and maintain the roads and bye roads required for developing the resources of a country so vast as India. If therefore this work is to be done at all it must be done by the help of rates established for the purpose. In like manner it has been assumed in all the discussions which have arisen during recent years upon this subject that the expenditure which may be required for the vernacular education of the people and for sanitary improvements cannot be afforded by the imperial revenue and must be met in the main out of the same additional resources. There appears indeed, to be no alternative unless it be the alternative of allowing the country to remain without drainage and without roads, and without education.

9. Accordingly this conviction has been now for many years forced upon the Administrations of some of the most important provinces in India upon the Supreme Government, and upon several successive

In respect to education he referred to the probable necessity of dealing with the question by a specific legislative enactment Accordingly, such an enactment, under conditions to which I shall afterwards refer, has actually been adopted in Bombay Lastly, my predecessor, Sir Stafford Northcote, in Council, in his despatch of the 28th of October *1868*, No 22, approved of these proceedings of your Government, in which the proposal was made to levy a rate for this purpose in Bengal

6 I come, then, to the specific objection to this proposal that the Government of India is precluded from imposing special rates in Lower Bengal, because of the binding promises made to the landowners of that province under the terms of the permanent settlement In considering this question, I put aside for the moment every argument which turns upon the purposes to which the proposed rates or taxes are to be applied On this point, there seems to be some doubtful reasoning used on both sides in the correspondence before me Your Government repeatedly asserts the right of imposing local cesses for local purposes, implying that the purpose to which such a tax is devoted affects the question of the right of the Government to impose it Assuming the right to impose any given tax, the purpose to which it is applied may make all the difference in these two most important things *first*, the reasonableness, or even the justice, of imposing the tax, and *secondly*, the possibility of making that reasonableness and justice plain to the people who are to pay it But if the right to impose the tax be absolutely denied, on the ground of a binding promise that no such tax should be imposed, then the purposes to which we may intend to devote the money can have no bearing on the question of our right to raise it

7 But the question whether the Government of India has, or has not, the right to impose taxes upon land in Bengal, even for the general purposes of the Empire, has been ruled and decided in the case of the income tax And yet that ruling was not, and could not, be arrived at by any mere construing of the words in which the promises of the permanent settlement were made Those words did not contemplate such a case, and, to reach the general principles on which that case was ruled, it was necessary to go outside altogether of the four corners of the document in which the permanent settlement is recorded

8 Your Excellency has, indeed, referred to Article VII of that Regulation as indicating the reservation of a power large enough to include that which is now disputed I am bound to say, however, that this argument does not appear to me to be satisfactory It is true, indeed, that under that Article the Government of India retained a right of enacting such Regulations as it might think necessary for the "protection and welfare" of the various agricultural classes It is

true also that we may argue, in all good conscience, that the support of roads and of vernacular education are necessary for the "welfare of those classes. But the whole context of the passage indicates, in my opinion, that the power intended to be reserved under that Article was the power of regulating and limiting the power of the *zamindars* over their tenantry. It is indeed, obvious that in the exercise of such a right the revenues of those *zamindars* might have been affected to a far greater extent than they can be affected by rates for the making and maintenance of roads or of schools. But if the question be whether the right to levy such rates in addition to the "*jama* was contemplated or thought of at the time, I am compelled to believe that no such idea was in the mind of the Government of Lord Cornwallis in 1793.

9. But, if the words of the permanent settlement do not rule the case in favor of the power now claimed by your Government, neither do they rule it in a sense adverse to that claim. The great object and purpose of that settlement as clearly defined and described in Article VI., should govern our interpretation of its terms. That object was—as this Article explains at length—to put an end for ever to the practice of all former Governments of altering and raising the land tax from time to time so that the landholder was never sure, for any definite period what proportion of the total produce of the soil might be exacted by the State. This uncertainty was to be set at rest for ever. The "public demand was to be fixed and permanent. Such was the promise and its scope and object were clearly explained in the concluding exhortation addressed to the landowners that "they would exert themselves in the cultivation of their lands under the certainty that they would enjoy exclusively the fruits of their own good management and that no demand would ever be made upon them or their heirs and successors by the present or any future Government *for an augmentation of the public assessment in consequence of the improvement of their respective estates*.

10. These last words illustrate the whole force of the argument which had been admitted to be just in the case of the income tax. It must be remembered that none of the pleas which, in the correspondence before me are urged in favor of the right of the Government to levy rates for roads or for education could have been put forward in favor of the right to impose an income tax on the landholders of Bengal. The income tax was not "local" in any sense. It was not applied to special [illegible] for the immediate benefit of the agricultural classes. It was [illegible] of the words, a "public demand" [illegible] which, under the permanent settlement had been fixed for ever. It went directly into the imperial exchequer [illegible] precisely as the land revenue and all the imperial taxes

were applied But there is one thing which that tax was not it was not an increase of the public demand levied upon the *zamindars* "in consequence of the improvement of their estates" It was levied upon a wholly different principle, and in respect of a wholly different kind of liability One index and proof of this difference lay in the fact that, although this "public demand" was made upon those to whom the promises of the permanent settlement had been given, it was made upon them only in company with other classes of the community, and with no exclusive reference to the source from which their income was derived

11 But when the principle of this distinction is clearly apprehended, it becomes obvious that an income tax is not the only form of "public demand" to which that principle applies The same essential distinction may be established between the original assessment which was fixed "for ever", and every kind of tax, or cess, or rate, which is levied irrespective of the increased value or produce of land, and with no view to a re-adjustment of the proportions in which the produce of the soil is divided between the State and the owners of land holding under it The best method of marking this distinction, and of making it clear is to provide that such cesses should be laid upon the owners of land only in common with other owners of property which is of a kind to be accessible to the rate

12 It has been contended that the rates levied in other provinces of India are essentially distinct in principle from the rates which it is proposed to levy in Bengal The argument appears to be, that in other provinces of India the local rates are simply so much addition to the ordinary land revenue—an addition which is there legitimate, because the Government had not in those provinces debarred itself by positive engagements from increasing the land assessment This appears to be only another form of stating the argument already dealt with, which is founded on the terms of the permanent settlement But the distinction thus drawn between the character of such rates when levied in Bengal, and the character of similar rates when levied elsewhere, is a distinction which I concur with Your Excellency in considering to be unsound Whatever character may be assigned to these rates as a matter of mere verbal definition, they were unquestionably intended by the Government in all the provinces in which they have been raised, to be in addition to the land revenue, and not a part of it This separation was expressly defined and marke in the proceedings of the Government of Bombay before any special legislation had been passed upon the matter In the Resolution of that Government, dated March 9th, 1860, the Superintendents of Survey were directed, "after fixing the assessment of a district," to add the rate "over and above the amount which on other consider-

India in this condition of affairs, and its anxiety lest rates on landed property should appear to the people to be a breach of faith It is injurious alike to the Government and to the people that this condition of things should continue. The Government has nothing to conceal, and the people have nothing to fear or lose in the re-affirmation of the same principle as regards rating which has already been affirmed as regards the income tax.

16. An important step in the practical decision of this question has been taken in the passing of the Bombay Act No. III of 1869. The special object of that Act is to raise "funds for expenditure on objects of local public utility and improvement, and for this purpose it imposes rates upon all holders of land without making any distinction between those who received and those who did not receive a notice at the time of settlement. No exemption of any class of landholder is admitted On the contrary the holders of rentfree, of alienated villages, and of other permanent tenures are expressly subjected to the rates.

17 In view therefore, of these various facts and considerations, Her Majesty's Government have now to intimate to Your Excellency the conclusion to which they have come, after a careful consideration of a controversy which has now been going on for a long course of years This conclusion is that rating for local expenditure is to be regarded as it has hitherto been regarded in all the provinces of the Empire, as taxation separate and distinct from the ordinary land revenue that the levying of such rates upon the holders of land irrespective of the amount of their land assessment, involves no breach of faith on the part of the Government whether as regards holders of permanent or of temporary tenures; and that where such rates are levied at all, they ought as far as may be possible to be levied equally without distinction and without exemption, upon all the holders of property accessible to the rate

18 So far I have been dealing only with the right of the Government to levy rates, and with the argument that this right had been parted with for ever under the terms of the permanent settlement in Bengal I now proceed to consider the further question, which ought to be kept entirely separate namely the expediency and policy of exercising the legitimate power of the Government in imposing such rates in Bengal Many arguments, which are entirely irrelevant in the discussion of right become arguments of first importance on the question of policy (1) The [illegible] which the existing land tax bears to the whole resources [illegible] on whom we propose to place [illegible] taxes; (2) the [illegible] of [illegible] as to reach fairly the different interests in the property [illegible] (3) the [illegible] to be [illegible]

(4) the persons to whom the expenditure is to be entrusted, and (5) the special purposes to which rates are to be applied—all these are most important elements in the question of policy, perhaps even of justice, they cannot therefore be too carefully considered

19 Adverting, then, to these matters in the order in which I have now enumerated them, (1) it cannot be maintained that the people of Bengal are less able to afford such rates than the people of other provinces of India In so far as the permanent settlement makes any difference in this case, it is a difference in their favor with respect to the other demands made upon them by the State A large portion of the produce of the soil which, even at the most moderate assessment made elsewhere in India, would have been appropriated by the State, has been left in the hands of the various classes connected with agriculture, and has contributed to increase the general wealth and resources of the province The case, on this point, for the Government cannot be better stated than in paragraph 36 of the Lieutenant-Governor's letter to your Government, dated April 30th 1869 —"Owing to the operation of the permanent settlement, Bengal contains, scattered throughout the different classes of its population, many persons who have acquired more or less of an independence from the profits of land surrendered by the Government in that measure" It is true that in the greater fruitfulness of indirect taxation and of some direct taxes in Bengal, as compared with other provinces, the Government recovers some portion of the revenue which it has sacrificed in the form of land assessment But this very fact testifies to the greater wealth of the people, and is a conclusive proof that they can bear, at least as well as the people of other provinces, such special taxes as may be required for drainage, roads, and schools

20 On the next point, (2) the mode of levying rates so as to reach fairly the different interests in the property to be assessed, I understand you to be fully impressed with the justice of providing that they should be levied as equally as possible, not only on all kinds of rateable property, but as equally as possible also upon the various classes who have various interests in that property I observe that you contemplate the extension of the cess to towns and villages (paragraph 24) There is indeed no reason why the burden, either of roads or of education, should be thrown exclusively upon the agricultural classes, where other classes are equally interested in the expenditure, and have property of a kind which can be made accessible to rates How all this can best be done is a question which must be locally decided The knowledge and ability possessed by the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, which are eminently displayed in this correspondence, give me confidence that, when the decision of Her

Majesty's Government is announced, the measures consequent upon that decision will be directed with a careful regard to all the peculiar circumstances of the province which is under his administration.

1 As regards (3) the machinery through which the levy of rates is to be made, and (4) the persons to whom the expenditure of them is to be entrusted,—it would indeed be most desirable if the local character of these rates could be emphatically marked by committing both the assessing of them and the application of them to local bodies. If the people were farther advanced in the knowledge and appreciation of those advantages which we desire to confer upon them, there would be no need of interposing the authority of the Imperial Government in regard to such matters as the making and maintenance of roads, of schools, and of sanitary improvements. In this case we must entrust the initiative in all such things to the people themselves. But speaking generally it may be said that the people have as yet neither the knowledge nor the desire, nor the organization which could alone render it possible to rely exclusively upon their voluntary action. Nevertheless, when the authority of the Supreme Government has been exerted to prescribe, as an obligation, the performance of certain duties, it may be possible and if possible it will certainly be desirable to carry the people along with us through their natural native leaders, both in the assessment and in the expenditure of local rates. The importance of doing so has been acknowledged in the measures adopted for regulating the management of similar rates in other provinces of India, and it would be, in the belief and hope of Her Majesty's Government an undeserved reproach to the many wealthy and intelligent native gentlemen of Bengal, to suppose that a similar course may not be successfully pursued as regards the people of that province.

2 Closely connected with the local character which may belong to rates arising out of the mode of assessment and of administration, comes (5) the local character which depends on the purposes to which they are to be exclusively applied. I have already pointed out that the purposes to which a tax may be applied cannot be considered as affecting the abstract [illegible] of the Government to extract it. But assuming this right, everything [illegible] as regards the policy and even the justice of the ra[illegible] now in question turn upon the manner in which they are to be expended. It is, of course, essential that the Government of India [illegible] be itself satisfied that it is breaking no faith in any measure it may take; but next to the necessity of this assurance is the necessity [illegible] great importance of making the same con[illegible] plain [illegible] For this purpose it is also [illegible] all

things, requisite that the benefits to be derived from the rates should be brought home to their doors,—that these benefits should be palpable, direct, immediate

23 The making and improving of wells, tanks, and other works of irrigation affecting comparatively small areas of land, are the operations which probably best comply with these conditions But roads are a first requisite in the improvement of every country, and, although as yet they may not be equally valued by the people, it is the duty of the Government to think for them in this matter, and the benefits they must derive will yearly become more apparent to themselves It is due, probably, to these considerations that the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal has waived his objection to local rating in Bengal for making and maintaining roads (admitting indeed that for this purpose a cess upon landed property is necessary), although, as regards the argument founded on the permanent settlement, no clear distinction has been drawn between the right of the Government to levy rates for roads, and its right to levy rates for education Her Majesty's Government can have no doubt that, as elsewhere, so in Bengal, the expenditure required for the education of the people ought to be mainly defrayed out of local resources This, however, is precisely the application of rates which the present condition of the people may render them least able to appreciate I approve, therefore of Your Excellency proceeding with great caution in this matter The circumstances which have just compelled you, for the general purposes of the Empire, to increase the tax upon incomes, would appear to render such caution more necessary at the present moment I do not construe the concluding words of the 6th paragraph of your despatch as suggesting that rates nominally levied for one purpose should afterwards be applied to another, because I am sure that Your Excellency must be as fully alive as Her Majesty's Government to the necessity of maintaining perfect openness in our dealings with the people of India, especially as regards imposts which are comparatively new, and which seem to be so much contested I do not doubt, therefore, that, in the paragraph referred to, you intended only to suggest that, until the system, machinery, and incidence of local rating in Bengal has been satisfactorily established, so much only should, in the first instance, be raised as is required for roads Her Majesty's Government approve of this precaution, and they are of opinion that any addition to the cess should be duly and separately notified to the people with a full explanation of the special purposes to which it is to be applied

24 I have now communicated to Your Excellency the views of Her Majesty's Government on the matter which you have referred for their

decision. On the great importance of the subject in a financial point of view I have already spoken. If it were indeed true that, in the land revenue raised from the agricultural classes, the Government of India took so much from the resources of the people as to leave them unable to bear any additional burdens, then, indeed, it would be as impolitic to impose "local rates" as to impose any new imperial tax.

In this point of view it matters nothing whether the land revenue be in the nature of a "rent" or in the nature of a "tax." So far as regards the ability of a people to bear fresh burdens, it is the same thing whether they be over rented or over taxed. But Her Majesty's Government are satisfied that this is not the condition of things with which we have to deal. It is notorious that the direction in which the Government of India has been proceeding in its land assessments has been the direction of making those assessments more moderate, and of eliminating altogether the element of uncertainty of arbitrary variation, which, more than anything else, impeded the progress of agricultural improvement. The whole discussion, which is now before me, has arisen out of the fact that in Bengal the Government went so far in giving effect to this policy as to declare the land assessment to be "fixed for ever." The same principle is involved and the same policy is expressed in the long and definite periods of time for which, in other parts of India, the assessments are now equally fixed and during which they cannot be readjusted in favor of the State. This policy is a wise one even though the treasury should appear in the first instance to be a loser by it. The true wealth of a wise and just Government lies in the growing wealth of its people and the fiscal system which most encourages the accumulation and enjoyment of capital in private hands must in the long run be the most profitable to the State. But there is one condition attaching to this argument without which it ceases to be applicable to a people situated as the people of India now are. The growing wealth of the country must be made accessible to such demands as arise from time to time out of the duty and necessity of our applying to its condition the knowledge which belongs to a more advanced civilization than its own. We are spending the imperial revenues of India conscientiously for the good of its people. If there are some great improvements in their condition which we cannot afford to undertake we must not be precluded from throwing the cost of such improvements upon those growing resources of which we heartily desire to see that people in the enjoyment, but which are due in a great measure to the Government we provide.

25. There is yet one other aspect in which the question of local rates for special purposes must be regarded,—an aspect in which it

assumes an interest and importance distinct altogether from its bearing on finance Local rating, although it may be imposed in the first instance by imperial authority, must become a powerful means of further educating the people in an intelligent management of their own affairs I approve entirely of the anxiety shown by the Government of Bombay in its first action in this matter, and expressed also by the Supreme Government under Sir J Lawrence, that, as far as possible, the assent and concurrence of the rate payer should be secured, both in the levy and in the management of the rates I commend this wise policy to your careful consideration in communication with 'the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal and the subordinate branches of his administration '

On receipt of this despatch a Committee was appointed to report on the best mode of giving effect to its views The main features of the scheme proposed were the levy of a road cess from the landed classes the extension of the scheme as far down as the cultivating *rayat*, the cess levied from him being in proportion to the rent of his holding, while the *zamindar* and the intermediate under-tenure holder should contribute in proportion to the profit derived by each from the land in his possession, and the collection of the cess-rate, in case of default, as an arrear of revenue The general equitableness of these principles having been accepted, a Bill was, after Sir W Grey had retired, introduced into Council for legalizing the levy of a cess on all immovable property, as far as possible without exemption, except in favour of such property already liable to local rating by municipal laws

Canals

In January 1869, the Secretary of State having authorized the immediate prosecution of the Sone Canal project, which had for some time been under consideration, the chief Irrigation officers determined on the works to be undertaken and the establishment required, and with the sanction of the Government of India they were put in hand In the same year the negotiations with the East India Irrigation and Canal Company for the transfer of their Bihar and Orissa projects were concluded, and their extensive works and establishment were taken over by Government Act VI (B C) of 1869 was passed to bring the system of recovery of rates for water supplied from the canals into accordance with the altered state of circumstances

The necessity for amending Act XI of 1859 having from time to

time been brought to the notice of Government, and the alterations and additions proposed having proved to be very numerous and extensive it was considered desirable to enact an additional law on the subject, and to this end a Bill was introduced to make further provision for the recovery of land revenue and public demands recoverable as arrears of land revenue. It was proposed by this bill to define accurately the terms proprietor revenue estate tenure and demand to make substantive provision for the sale of estates and tenures for arrears of revenue and other demands therein specifically enumerated and described; to place arrears of rent due to Government on the same footing as arrears of revenue to provide further for the service of notice of sale on the defaulting proprietor; and to empower the Collector to adjudicate on claims to any lands which it was proposed to sell The Bill was passed into law as Act VII (B C) of 1868

Recovery of arrears of land Revenue

A despatch from the Secretary of State dated the 23rd August 1867 directed the compilation of a Gazetteer of the territories under the administration of the Lieutenant Governor After ascertaining that all the information required for such a purpose was already available in the records of various offices it was proposed to employ a special officer for the compilation of the work and generally for supervising the collection and arrangement of statistical information of every description The Government of India were not prepared to sanction such a measure and requested that attention should be confined to the much smaller question of collecting existing material for the preparation of a Gazetteer in a year or 18 months It was accordingly proposed that Mr (the late Sir) W W Hunter should be appointed to do this work, in addition to the duties of an appointment in Calcutta which would give him leisure to attend to it. The proposal was sanctioned. But after further consideration Sir W Grey thought that the work could not be carried out successfully under the plan proposed and again asked for the appointment of a special officer on an adequate salary and with a proper establishment. Eventually the appointment of Sir W W Hunter with the requisite establishment to compile the Gazetteer for Bengal was sanctioned

Gazetteer of Bengal.

An earthquake which was felt more or less in every district of

Bengal, occurred on the 10th January 1869 The various accounts of it showed (though the scientific value of the conclusions was vitiated by the inexact nature of the data, and their insufficiency) that the earthquake was one of more than usual violence Its effects were most severe in Cachar and Manipur. numerous large fissures were formed, from which issued water, a dark blue mixture of sand and clay, and ferruginous matter An earthwave was propagated from this region, or its immediate neighbourhood at least, as far as Patna and Darjeeling From the data at command, it was calculated that the earthwave travelled at the rate of 11,256 feet a second This rate seemed improbably high, the more so, as for upwards of 100 miles of the distance at least the wave traversed an unconsolidated alluvial formation, and one, therefore, in which its speed would be comparatively low There did not appear to have been any peculiarity in the meteorology of the day on which the earthquake occurred

Earthquake of 10th January 1869

A party of Nagas committed a series of daring raids in November and December 1867 in the Sibsagar district The motives which actuated them not being known, Sir W Grey at first called for information as to the tribes concerned, and ordered that when this had been obtained an expedition should be despatched, with military assistance if necessary, and the passes into British territory blockaded The Chittagong Hill Tracts were not molested in 1867-8 some misunderstanding occurred with the Kuki chief Rutton Pooea, who had hitherto been faithful to the British Government, but it blew over, and the annual meeting with the chiefs of his clan took place on Christmas Day as usual The chiefs of the Howlong and Syloo tribes entered into engagements to commit no more raids on British subjects The police in the Hill Tracts was strengthened and the Sungoo subdivision established The border tribes raided again in 1869 and the Howlongs were believed to be implicated, in spite of their solemn oaths to abstain from all hostilities The requirements of the case not justifying an organised expedition, their punishment was postponed The district head-quarters were transferred from Chundergona to Rangamatia

Frontier raids Chittagong hill tribes, Lushais

The Eastern frontier, bordering on the Sylhet and Cachar districts, had for some years since 1862 been singularly free from the attacks

of the savage Lushai and Kuki tribes inhabiting the hills and jungles to the South of the Hylakandi valley a wild and difficult tract of country lying principally between the Dalesari and Sonai rivers Suddenly in December 1868 the Lushais under Sukpoilal raided into the Tippera Raja s territory and Sylhet. The local police force being inadequate native infantry and police reinforcements were sent from Cachar to aid them Cachar tea gardens were then attacked by Lushais under Vonpilal An expedition was organised to follow up the marauders to their villages Two columns of troops native infantry and Eurasian artillery under General Nuttall and Mr Baker Deputy Inspector General of Police were moved up along the course of the rivers Dalesari and Sonai to attack the villages of the chiefs above mentioned One column and a detachment were compelled by the incessant rain and want of supplies to return the other column obtained the submission of Vonpilal s villages the chief himself having recently died

The military expeditions undertaken against the Lushais late in the cold weather of 1868 69 having failed in their principal objects viz the punishment of the tribes concerned in the outrages on British and Manipuri subjects and the rescue of the captives taken Sir W Grey proposed the despatch of a fresh expedition carefully organized into the Lushai country early in the cold weather of 1869 70 The Government of India however objected to any renewal of active military operations against the Lushai having regard to the jungly and wild nature of the country to the unfavorable climate which rendered active operations impossible except for a short period of the year to the difficulty of inflicting a retribution sufficient to produce a lasting effect on savages possessed of little or no property and to the time that had elapsed since their outrages They were moreover averse on principle to moving bodies of troops and armed police with a view to punish such frontier outrages by reprisals or to admit that it was imperative to chastise the offenders by following them up into their own fastnesses and hills Their policy with regard to the wild tribes was to place them under a carefully selected and well qualified officer in charge of any difficult tract of country which the ordinary authorities were unable to superintend who should have the entire control of our relations with the tribes in subordination to the Comm

sioner While the measures to be adopted for giving effect to their policy were under consideration, messengers from some of the Lushai chiefs arrived in Cachar to confer with* Mr J. W Edgar, c s Deputy Commissioner, with the object of bringing about a better understanding It was arranged that Sir J Edgar should return with the messengers to the Lushai country, attended by a small guard, and seek a personal interview with the principal chiefs, and that he should be accompanied by Major Macdonald, Superintendent of Surveys, with a view to defining the southern boundary of the Cachar District and to obtaining such topographical knowledge of the country beyond as opportunity offered Sir J Edgar started on this expedition on 20th December 1869 and returned after nearly 3 months The most southern part reached by him was Bepari Bazar, a place not far from the home of Sookpoilal, who was concerned in the raids committed in December 1868 and was one of the most powerful of the Lushai Chiefs At this place Sir J Edgar was met by Sookpoilal The instructions to Sir J Edgar strictly enjoined him to do nothing likely to entail risk of a collision with the tribes No demand, therefore, was made for reparation or satisfaction for past offences, but that chief was induced to listen to reasonable proposals in respect of our future relations and seemed satisfied with the interview and really anxious to cultivate a better understanding Sir J Edgar had interviews with other chiefs, of the good effect of which he was sanguine, and it seemed probable that some progress had been made towards the improvement of our relations with the Lushais At any rate, a great deal of very useful information was acquired regarding the chiefs and the country Parts of the country previously supposed to be almost impassable were found to contain wide, well-beaten tracts, for the most part traversable on horseback, and extending almost to the boundary of the Chittagong Hill Tracts, as shewn in the maps

In concurrence with Sir J Edgar's recommendations, the following measures were sanctioned for the improvement of our relations with the Lushais As he was of opinion that the proposed location of a British officer among the Lushais would be most distasteful to the tribes, excite their jealousy and destroy their confidence in our

* Afterwards Sir John Ware Edgar, K C I E, C S

good intentions he proposed that the Deputy Commissioner of Cachar or one of his subordinates should annually visit the Lushai country and that his duty should be to see as many of the chiefs separately as possible hear grievances use his influence for the adjustment of quarrels and give small presents to the chiefs, specially rewarding those who had behaved particularly well To give effect to this policy it was decided that Sir J Edgar himself should revisit the Lushais during the cold weather of 1870-71 One of the principal objects of his visit would be to settle with Sookpoilal or some of his people a boundary from the borders of Manipur to Hill Tippera where ordinary British Civil jurisdiction should cease the tribes thus making themselves responsible for the peace of the districts beyond it. It was believed that there would be no difficulty in arranging this as a line had already been roughly indicated which Sookpoilal was willing to accept. Other measures were sanctioned in detail for the same purpose of improving relations with the chiefs In the cold weather of 1870-71 several raids were committed by the Kukis or Lushais, on a more extensively organized scale and of a far more determined character than any of their previous incursions the audacity of the raiders in many cases was quite new to our experience showing that they possessed fighting qualities not altogether to be despised, and that they had other tactics to depend on than those of night surprises and rapid flights which had been supposed to be their only mode of aggression Some 200 of either the Howlong or the Shindu tribe raided on the 31st. December on the Chittagong Hill Tracts frontier but failed to do much injury Several raids occurred in quick succession late in January in the Hylakandi subdivision of Cachar A tea garden was destroyed the resident planter Mr Winchester was killed and his little girl carried off Several other tea gardens and coolie lines were attacked and more or less injured though gallantly defended by the planters Even the troops and police sent to the relief of the tea gardens were attacked On the Sylhet frontier and in Hill Tippera villages were similarly fired on and some of them burnt skirmishes ensued between the police guards and the raiders with uncertain results. At the time Sir J Edgar was in the heart of Sookpoilal's country on the [illegible] and was apparently treated with great friendliness by Sookpoilal [illegible] luckily escaped encountering the raiders The first

object of Government was to obtain accurate evidence of the identity of the tribes implicated in these outrages, the evidence led to the conclusion that the sons of Vonolel, and certain Howlong and Syloo Chiefs acting in concert committed the raids in Cachar Sookpoilal's people were suspected of the attacks on the Sylhet side, but the suspicion was not pressed against him Government then seriously took up the question of its future policy towards these frontier tribes, not only with a view to punish them and recover British subjects from captivity, but to prevent effectually a repetition of the incursions Sir W Grey had previously recommended a fresh military expedition, but had been overruled, and it was in accordance with the Government of India's policy that Sir J Edgar was visiting Sookpoilal's country, as above mentioned, when the disturbances broke out which obliged him to return his steps, and which Sookpoilal, though professing friendship and bestowing every attention on Sir J Edgar, was powerless to prevent, if he did not actually participate in them

On the Chittagong side the Commissioner, Lord Ulick Browne, pointed out that the circumstances of Cachar and the Chittagong Hill Tracts were entirely different, and that for 10 years there had been a European officer in the heart of the hill district, in constant intercourse with Rutton Pooea, the Syloos and Howlongs. He recommended the establishment of a strong advanced post to keep the Howlongs under check, and that the Arracan authorities should deal with the Shindus and Kumis who had committed half the raids Sir W Grey supported this policy

The conclusion arrived at was that the occurrence of the raids, which took place in spite of the efforts made by the frontier officers, proved that the policy of conciliation alone was utterly powerless and insufficient to protect our frontier from the tribes beyond, whose cupidity was excited, even if those nearest to us might thereby become well affected

The policy unanimously recommended by the local officers was that raids should be met by condign punishment, in the shape of a military occupation of the raiders' villages during as long a period as possible, the seizure of their crops and stored grain, and the forced submission of their chiefs, after that, by the steady endeavour of the frontier officers to influence them and promote trade, and

finally by a system of frontier posts combined with a line of road running north and south from the Cachar frontier to that of Chittagong

The Commander in Chief Lord Napier of Magdala who inspected the Cachar frontier was in accord with those of the local officers who urged the necessity of an expedition and was of opinion that it should consist of 2 columns which should start as early as possible in the ensuing cold weather one from Cachar on the North the other from Chittagong on the South and then effecting a junction occupy the villages of the chiefs known to be implicated and open out a road of communication between the 2 frontiers. Sir George Campbell in May 1871 was in favor of military exploration of the country rather than a measure of pure retaliation Certain points he thought should be advanced to in order to find and secure a convenient location for troops to be posted in the centre of the Lushai country and to establish the means of maintaining communication with them If the people submitted he thought we should treat with them and demand surrender of our native subject and if a fair amount of success were attained in that way we should enter into friendly relations with them but if they resisted we should use force and compel respect. Eventually it was resolved to send an expedition to invade the Lushai country by columns both from Chittagong and Cachar

Opium.

The Government of India invited Sir W Grey's opinion on a Minute written by Sir W Muir in February 1868 in which he suggested the appointment of a Commission for the purpose of inquiry into the best mode of raising an opium revenue in India. The questions which Sir W Muir desired to refer to a Commission embraced 2 distinct subjects viz (1) the principle to be followed in fixing the rate of pass duty on opium in Western India and (2) the abolition of the manufacture of opium in Bengal by Government, and the substitution of a system of export duties on opium freely grown

The opinion expressed by Sir W Grey was to the effect that all the information which a Commission could obtain was already available [illegible] Government which [illegible] the appointment of a Commission [illegible] being one on which special information [illegible]

through the medium of a Commission It was urged that all that remained to be done on the point was for Government to lay down the principle on which the pass duty on Malwa opium was to be fixed, and it appeared to Sir W Grey that the only guide was the price which that opium commanded in the China market A careful estimate having been made of the average price obtaining in China, a deduction would have to be made of the cost of production, transit, and shipment, and a fair trading profit, the balance left after such deduction forming the basis for the calculation of the duty, a wide margin being reserved for the fluctuations of trade Calculated on this basis, the existing duty of Rs 600/- per chest appeared to be the highest that could be levied.

As to the substitution in Bengal of a system of so-called free cultivation, with a very heavy export duty, for the existing system of monopoly and direct manufacture by Government, Sir W Grey remarked that this question had been before fully considered and that the arguments then advanced in favor of the existing system had never been refuted, or considered to be mistaken, unsound, or inconclusive On the other hand, the system proposed to be substituted for it appeared to Sir W Grey, under the most favourable circumstances, likely to result in great financial loss, the extreme risk of which at least was admitted even by those who advocated its introduction, and this without altering the moral aspect of the question, or even affecting to withdraw any amount of the drug sent to China from that market Under these circumstances, he was unable to advocate any change of system or the necessity of instituting any inquiry of the nature proposed

Reductions in the police

In consequence of financial difficulties, it was necessary, under orders received from the Government of India in October 1869 to make considerable reductions in the police of Bengal Sir W Grey, in a Minute dated the 13th November, remonstrated strongly but temperately against the proposed reductions as necessitating the alteration of the whole system of police administration matured under the experience of the past 8 years The Government of India had asked for a saving of Rs 3,59,560, and Sir W Grey expressed his willingness to reduce the annual charge for police in Bengal to 45 *lakhs*, if allowed to arrange for the reduction in the whole force, i e in the lower ranks as well

as in the gazetted appointments This was sanctioned in the expectation that the saving would amount to Rs 5 46 091 The appointments of 3 out of the 5 Deputy Inspectors-General and 27 out the 67 Assistant Superintendents were abolished and large reductions were made in the lower grades of the force. The grade of head constable was reduced by 327 and that of constables by 4,505 men The reductions in the lower grades were effected chiefly by withdrawing outposts where their retention was not an absolute necessity and by diminishing the strength of the reserve in each district.

Preliminary measures for the Census [illegible]

In November 1868 Government came to the conclusion that the best means of finally accomplishing the Census operation* would be to make partial and tentative enumerations where the best opportunity afforded. The Commissioners of Divisions were accordingly directed to set on foot such partial enumerations where facilities existed for carrying them out. The object of the tentative measures was to bring to light the difficulties to be met and suggest the methods best adapted to the varying circumstances of the country The Registrar General of Assurances was appointed to be the officer for supervising the Census operations

He submitted a careful and elaborate report on the partial enumeration which had been made throughout every Division Sir W Grey came to the conclusion that no further tentative enumeration was desirable There were grounds for an opposite conclusion from the consideration that in some districts the objects of the Census were still misunderstood and that in many instances especially in distant districts the people not only abstained from co-operation but wilfully obstructed the work Notwithstanding this Sir W Grey was of opinion that it was advisable to abstain from any further experimental measures in anticipation of the general Census and that much more would be gained by using the time before January 18[illegible] to organise the arrangements for the regular Census It was [illegible] that no trustworthy Census of the population of Bengal could [illegible] be effected without a very large outlay In the tentative [illegible] every form of agency was employed [illegible] police [illegible] and the almost [illegible] was that whatever a[illegible]ance

might be obtained from any particular local machinery in any district, it could only be as a supplement to an organized *paid* establishment for the final Census.

The Registrar-General also recommended the employment entirely of a trained agency paid by the Government The scheme was to entail the employment of 4,000 supervisors and 80,000 enumerators at a cost of between 8 and 10 *lakhs* of rupees It was, however, feared that any proposition for the work, which was framed upon a basis so costly, could not be favourably entertained, especially if the outlay were to be incurred altogether in one season and was not spread over 2 or more years On the other hand, the difficulties of the case, in the absence of an adequate provision for the proper completion of the work, were so great that alternative schemes were put forward

According to the first, it was suggested that it was not an essential condition of success that the Census should be taken on one and the same day throughout the country, but that it would be better to avoid the great outlay which a simultaneous enumeration of Bengal must entail, and, by making the Census of different Divisions at different times, to spread the expenditure over a larger period

The second plan also proceeded upon the supposition that the Census of the whole country should not be taken on one and the same day but contemplated merely an approximately accurate record of the people, to be obtained by a regular and careful survey of the population of the country For this it was proposed that a Deputy Collector specially selected for his qualifications should be appointed to each Commissioner's Division, with a staff of 20 enumerators on Rs 30 each, or thrice that number if he could work them It was proposed that each district should be divided into circuits, and the circuits into sub-circuits, and, after these preliminary distributions of the work had been carefully laid down, each Deputy Collector should send his establishment through each district, making a careful record of the people,—males, females, children,—&c It was circulated that in this manner the whole work would be done in 18 months, at a cost roughly estimated not to exceed Rs 1,32,000 *per annum*

In the meanwhile, the Commissioners of Divisions were instructed to secure accurate information as to the number of villages in each *thana* of every sub-division, the unpaid agency available for enumera-

tion in each and the salaried agency required for supervision in every sub-division with as careful an estimate as possible of the cost of the whole arrangements

The Census was to be completed in the cold weather of 1870-71 and expected to cost about 3 *lakhs* It was subsequently postponed for a year on financial considerations

Transfer of rent suits to the Civil Courts.

By Act VII (B C) of 1869 the trial of rent suits between landlord and tenant was transferred from the Collector's revenue court to the ordinary civil tribunals, and the distinctions between the procedure in such suits and that in other cases were for the most part abolished at the same time to render it as far as possible a complete code of the law of landlord and tenant the substantive provisions of Act X of 1859 were re-enacted The Act was introduced into 33 districts by notification the number of munsifs was to be increased by 28 and the cost to be met by corresponding reductions in the number of Deputy Collectors. This change was one of much importance in this respect that it withdrew from the cognizance of revenue officers a class of work with which it was very desirable that they should be acquainted

Visit of H. R. H. the Duke of Edinburgh.

His Royal Highness the Duke of Edinburgh K G K T, visited Calcutta in H M S *Galatea* from the 22nd December 1869 to the 7th January 1870. He landed at Prinsep's *ghat* and drove to Government House, where he was the guest of the Viceroy the Earl of Mayo. Among the principal events of His Royal Highness's visit were—a State performance at the Italian opera addresses from the Municipality and residents of Calcutta, the University and the Bengal Chamber of Commerce a Levee and a Drawing Room Public illuminations and fireworks interchange of visits with the Native Chiefs a review and field day of the troops a Ball at Belvedere a Native entertainment at the Seven Tanks a State concert, the Investiture of His Royal Highness as Extra Knight Grand Commander of the Star of India a Fancy Ball at Government House a Ball given by Sir Richard Temple a Reception at Belvedere a Garden party at Government House, a Ball on the *Galatea* visits to Institutions &c &c

His Royal Highness left Calcutta by special train from Howrah on the 7th January for a tour in the Upper Provinces His suite consisted of Major General Sir N B Chamberlain K C B Lord

Charles Beresford, R N, Dr (Sir Joseph) Fayrer, C S I, Colonel (Sir Dighton) Probyn, C B, V C and others

Labour Transport to Assam

Further legislation had for some time been in contemplation to consolidate and amend the law in regard to the emigration of labourers to the tea districts of Assam, Cachar, and Sylhet The Local Legislature had passed a Bill in 1867 which the Governor-General vetoed A new Act, II (B C) of 1870, repealed the existing Acts of 1863 and 1865 and re-enacted their material provisions in an amended form. It authorized special agents, deputed by planters, to engage coolies to go to the tea districts in groups not exceeding 20, without being subject to all the stringent provisions respecting the transport of labourers forwarded by contractors under the former Acts It permitted the disembarkation of labourers at such places as might be most convenient It empowered the Lieutenant-Governor to make rules for the care of labourers during their river transit, and made the person in charge of them responsible for the due observance of such rules It enabled the Lieutenant-Governor to prohibit the emigration of labourers to the eastern districts It considerably modified the former provisions respecting the care and treatment of labourers when employed It provided for the discharge of a labourer after repeated imprisonment for desertion, and in other respects much altered the former Acts which it superseded The maximum contract term remained 3 years

The principal change in the law was the bringing under the sanitary provisions of the Act all time-expired labourers who might enter into fresh local contracts The Protectors of labourers in the districts of Assam were appointed to be Inspectors of labourers under this Act, and the officers in charge of certain sub-divisions in Assam to be Assistant Inspectors of labourers within their respective sub-divisions The fees to be levied under the Act on account of licenses granted to contractors, and recruiters' licenses, remained as under the old law The annual fee to be paid by employers for each labourer was fixed at Re 1 per labourer, but this fee was not to be levied on account of time-expired labourers. Revised rules and returns embodying all the amendments proposed in the Act were passed and a form of contract was settled, so worded that labourers might clearly understand the agreements they

and so calculated to produce impressions injurious to the people of Bengal, especially contrasted as the expenditure had been with the alleged small receipts for education, that he thought it his duty to beg the further attention of the Government of India to the subject. The statement, as it concerned the year 1868-69, for example, was that while the bulk of £229,935 had been spent on "high English education," only £36,583 had been contributed from private sources for education of all kinds, whereas it was shown by the Director of Public Instruction that the sum spent by the State on high English education was £54,000 only, and that the same amount was contributed from private sources towards the same class of education This was fully explained to the Government of India, and the following remarks were added —

"The Lieutenant-Governor has long seen with concern that an erroneous impression is entertained by the Governor-General in Council as to the expenditure on education under the Bengal Government, but, until he read the Resolution of September, he was not at all aware how very far wrong that impression is, and how injurious to the people of Bengal The Lieutenant-Governor is sure that the Governor-General in Council would not have permitted it to be said that the "burden" on account of the "high English education of the natives of Bengal" had "for some time past weighed heavily on the finances" if he had been informed of the true state of the case, and His Honor earnestly begs, if the present communication is not accepted as showing correctly how the case really stands, that the Governor-General in Council will cause a special inquiry to be made by an officer selected by himself before any measures are adopted which will tend directly or indirectly to take away from the people of these provinces the opportunities of obtaining a good education, of which they have been so keen to avail themselves, and which have produced results at once elevating to the people and most advantageous to the general administration

"The Lieutenant-Governor has before pointed out, but it seems necessary to repeat it, that in no other part of India are school and college fees so high as they are in Bengal He agrees with the Director of Public Instruction in admitting that they may be still further increased, but it should be done gradually, and with a reasonable consideration to the means, not of the very few wealthy men, but of the large middle class which is not wealthy, and he feels that, whether in the interests of the people or for the credit of the Government, he cannot too strongly urge the inexpediency of a sudden change of policy, which will everywhere

have the effect of closing the schools and colleges of these provinces against a large number of those who now take advantage of them and must in many places result in the entire destruction of the institutions themselves.

The Government of India admitted so far a correction of its figures as to concede that £92,492 were spent on English education in 1868-69 and £59 234 on vernacular education and suggested that the difference between these figures and those of the Government of Bengal arose probably from the fact that the Local Government had made a distinction between *high* and *other* English education Such a distinction however, the Government of India remarked could not be made "upon any satisfactory basis" adding that, for the purpose with which the Government of India recorded the Resolution of September 1869 English education must be classed as high."

The Government of India further explained the object of the Resolution as follows —

"The principle which the Government of India had in mind in the Resolution of September applies alike to all English education, viz this, that the motives which induce the people to seek it are *prima facie* sufficient for its rapid development, without any contribution from the imperial finances. It is notorious that the same assertion can by no means be made in regard to vernacular education It may it is believed, truly be said, in respect even to the most intellectually advanced provinces of India, such as Bengal, that the desire for vernacular education, or as might distinctively be said, for education in order to develop the intellectual powers, apart from the immediate purpose of securing material advantages, is so low as perhaps hardly to exist. It is undeniable that in this form education needs, and ought to receive, much artificial stimulus and encouragement

A further communication was then addressed to the Government of India, respectfully urging the ill effect certain to be produced by the la Resolution on the people of Bengal in strengthening the belief which had for some time past been gaining ground that the Government of India was opposed to the further spread of English education among them And in stating his views on this point Sir W. Grey expressed a hope that if the general belief regarding the intentions of the Government of India upon this important question was wrong, and without foundation some step would be taken to dispel the apprehension and the irritation which prevailed among the native communities throughout Bengal

Cattle-disease

In 1869-70 cattle-disease raged with great virulence in many districts in Bengal In the Diamond Harbour Sub-division, in the 24-*Parganas*, and in Jessore, this epizootic form of disease was particularly severe A Veterinary Surgeon was deputed to these districts and subsequently to Assam, where the ravages of the disease were most fatal, (177,659 animals perished) Chota Nagpur, the Sonthal *Parganas* and other districts also suffered Simple instructions for the treatment of the disease were drawn up and widely circulated, but almost insuperable difficulty was experienced in getting the people to allow the remedies to be used and to understand the importance of segregation Sir W Grey urged upon the Government of India the necessity of creating a skilled agency for dealing with these epizootic forms of disease, and of special legislation The Government of India appointed a special Commission of Inquiry into Cattle Plague, with instructions to visit the places where the disease prevailed, and report fully the nature of the diseases and the preventive and curative measures required, the contagious character of these murrains and their relations to rinderpest

Calcutta water supply and drainage works

The filtered water-supply works of Calcutta, from water taken in from the Hooghly at Palta 16 miles above Calcutta, were actually commenced in January 1867 and completed and taken over from the contractors in 1870 and bye laws were issued in March to regulate the use of the water The works were so efficient that there has been no interruption to the regular daily supply of water throughout the whole town of Calcutta The aggregate cost amounted to above 65 *lakhs* of rupees A 5 per cent water-rate was imposed on the assessed rental of all property, ¾ of it to be paid by the tenants and ¼ by the owners of property Though at one time some difficulty was anticipated from the reluctance of the Hindus to drink water, this was entirely overcome by a decision (in favour of drinking the water) by the religious authorities, powerfully aided, no doubt, by the visible and tangible advantages of pure and wholesome water conducted all over the city, in place of the very foul and unwholesome water which alone was obtainable in many quarters The improvement effected in the health and comfort of the town was at once remarked, and could be traced in the mortuary statistics and hospital returns all over the city In 1872

measures were taken for increasing the daily water supply of the town by 3,000,000 gallons The Calcutta drainage works consisting of a system of underground sewers over 26 miles in length, had been in progress for some years and at about this time were in full operation in the southern portion of the town and it was contemplated to extend them gradually as funds were available to the northern portion A permanent pumping station was located at Palmer's Bridge to discharge the contents of the sewers through the outfall works to the Salt water Lakes The works had cost upwards of half a million sterling Arrangements were also completed for putting a stop to the long-existing nuisance of discharging the sewage of the town into the river Hooghly During 1872 the main drainage scheme was extended to the northern division of Calcutta and eventually completed

Proposed bridging of the Hooghly

In 1868 the question of bridging the Hooghly was revived and a number of opinions were elicited from different persons and firms interested Sir W Grey was in favour of a road bridge at Armenian *ghat* if by engineering appliances efficient protection could be given to the structure as also of a temporary floating bridge as a tentative measure He objected to the idea of moving the East Indian Railway terminus from Howrah to Calcutta. The Government of India shared the objection and apparently preferred a bridge higher up the river with a goods station at Chitpur and a connecting line to Sealdah which should be considered as the terminus for passengers They recommended these proposals to the Secretary of State suggesting as an alternative the construction of a railway bridge at or near Chakdaha on the Hooghly to join the E B S Railway with the East Indian near Pandua. They promised to give their best attention to the proposal for a floating road bridge A design for the latter to be placed at Armenian *ghat* was soon submitted by a syndicate of promoters Sir W Grey and the Government of India agreed that Government should itself construct the bridge and that its management would best be handed over to a Trust Mr (Sir) Bradford Leslie Engineer of the Eastern Bengal Railway was selected to carry out the project

The village watch

Though the regular police had been organised for some years no steps had hitherto been taken successfully to put the village watch on a modern legal footing A

Bill for its reorganisation had in 1859 not advanced beyond a second reading In 1869 a Committee was appointed to frame a Bill to reform the village police on the principle of affirming their municipal character and providing for the proper payment of their wages In due course the Chaukidari Act VI (B C) of 1870 was passed with the object of effecting this reform It was intended for purely rural villages It vested the management of a village (of more than 60 houses) or group of villages in a Committee, or *panchayat*, to be selected by the Magistrate These *panchayats* had the power of appointing watchmen and assessing all owners and occupiers of houses in order to provide for the payment of their salaries, over whom they were to exercise a general control The assessment was to be made according to the circumstances and the property to be protected, of the persons liable to the tax, the maximum rate being fixed at one rupee *per mensem* The law further provided that, wherever the Act was extended, the lands hitherto appropriated to the maintenance of the village *chaukidars* should be made over to the landholders on payment in perpetuity of ½ the present annual value. The Act was introduced experimentally in a few places only, and difficulties were experienced in working it in some districts Sir G Campbell did not extend it in the western districts where service lands prevailed, because he objected to the expropriation of these lands Sir R Temple largely extended the operation of the Act

Decentralisation of the finances

The "decentralisation of the finances" effected by Lord Mayo's Government in the Resolution of 14th December 1870 had been for some time suggested, but was then first adopted as a policy Its object was to enlarge the powers and responsibility of the Local Governments in respect to the public expenditure in some of the civil departments Briefly, the principle of the measure was that the Government of India made over to the Local Governments certain grants of money and certain receipts on certain conditions, so that at the outset the income and expenditure thus transferred should nearly balance, and allowed the Local Governments to administer those departments without further financial control The policy was developed largely under Lord Lytton, and the reasons on which it was based and the shape it first took may be best seen in the following extracts from the Resolution above mentioned.—

"Under the present system these Governments have little liberty and but few motives for economy in their expenditure. It lies with the Government of India to control the growth of charges to meet which it has to raise the revenue. The Local Governments are deeply interested in the welfare of the people confided to their care and, not knowing the requirements of other parts of the country or of the Empire as a whole, they are liable, in their anxiety for administrative progress, to allow too little weight to fiscal considerations. On the other hand, the Supreme Government, as responsible for the general financial safety, is obliged to reject many demands in themselves deserving of all encouragement, and is not always able to distribute satisfactorily the resources actually available.

Thus it happens that the Supreme and Local Governments regard from different points of view measures involving expenditure and the division of responsibility being ill-defined, there occur conflicts of opinion injurious to the public service. In order to avoid these conflicts, it is expedient that, as far as possible, the obligation to find the funds necessary for administrative improvements should rest upon the authority whose immediate duty it is to devise such measures. This is the more important, because existing Imperial resources will not suffice for the growing wants of the country.

"The Supreme Government is not in a position to understand fully local requirements, nor has it the knowledge necessary for the successful development of local resources.

"These principles are now generally recognised and important steps have been taken to develop provincial resources.

"*It would have been satisfactory had His Excellency in Council been* able to propose the enlargement of the power and responsibility of the Local Governments without charging upon local resources any part of the existing Imperial expenditure. This cannot be done; but it has been determined to make as small a demand upon these resources as possible. At the same time it should be remembered that the relief of the Imperial finances has been a principal object in the discussion of such measures on former occasions.

"The Government of India is accordingly pleased to make over to the Local Governments under certain conditions to be presently set forth the following departments of the administration in which they may be supposed to take special interest; and to grant permanently from the Imperial revenue for these services the sum of £[illegible] [illegible] less by

£330,801 only than the assignments made for the same services in 1870-71 —Jails, Registration, Police, Education, Medical Services (except Medical Establishments), Printing, Roads, Miscellaneous, Public Improvements, Civil Buildings

. . . .

"The actual permanent Imperial assignments for "Provincial Service" will be then as follows all receipts heretofore credited in connection with these Services being given up to the Provinces in which they accrue —

.. . ..

Bengal £1,168,592

. . .

"These assignments will not be classified in the Financial statement and in the Imperial estimates and accounts, but will appear under a single new head, "Provincial Services"

. . .

"Unless some fiscal misfortune, such as a heavy loss in the Opium revenue, or national disaster such as war or severe famine, occurs, the Governor-General in Council will maintain for the future the assignments for "Provincial Services" at the amounts now fixed They will not in any case be reduced without previous consultation with the Governments

"For the coming year the Provincial Service estimates should be immediately prepared upon the basis of these assignments, which may be distributed at the discretion of the Government among the several departments for which they will now be responsible Any portion of the assignment made to any Province that may be unspent at the end of the year will not lapse to the Imperial revenue but will remain at the disposal of the Local Government The estimates and accounts of these Governments should therefore open and close with balances brought and carried forward

. .. .

"Each Local Government will publish its own yearly estimates and accounts in the local Gazette, together with a financial exposition (which should where possible be made before the Local Legislative Council) analogous to that annually made in the Legislative Council of the Governor-General

. . . ..

"The financial control which is thus entrusted to the Local Governments is to be exercised subject to certain conditions (as to creation of appointments and changes involving expenditure)

"The Governor-General in Council is fully aware that this Resolution will effect a wide change in Indian administration It has been adopted

after long and careful consideration in the hope that it will be received by the Governments in the spirit in which it is promulgated. The Governor General in Council believes that it will produce greater care and economy; that it will impart an element of certainty into the fiscal system which has hitherto been absent, and that it will lead to more harmony in action and feeling between the Supreme and the Provincial Governments than has hitherto prevailed. But beyond all this, there is a greater and wider object in view. Local interest, supervision and care are necessary to success in the management of funds devoted to Education, Sanitation, Medical charity and Local Public Works. The operation of this Resolution in its full meaning and integrity will afford opportunities for the development of Self Government, for strengthening municipal institutions and for the association of natives and Europeans to a greater extent than heretofore in the administration of affairs.

"Subject to these general restrictions, the Governments will henceforth enjoy full liberty in the expenditure of the funds appropriated to "Provincial Services." It must, however, be understood that in thus divesting himself of control the Governor General in Council divests himself also to a large extent of his former responsibility. If responsibility for expenditure is retained, control cannot be renounced.

The Secretary of State in a despatch of the 23rd February 1871 approved of the principles laid down by the Government of India with the view of enlarging the powers of the several Governments. Sir Henry S. Maine has declared this to be "much the most successful administrative reform which has taken place in India in his time," and Sir John Strachey agreed* with him "that no more important and successful reforms have been made in Indian administration since the transfer of the Government to the Crown." Sir W. W. Hunter stated that the word "decentralisation" was hateful to Lord Mayo, who objected to it being uttered either in the Council or even in casual conversation by those about him. He appears to have regarded the measure as financially the transfer of certain services to the Local Governments with corresponding grants for the expenditure. The word in question has however the sanction of very high authority and is of common usage. "The permanent merit of Lord Mayo's reform," wrote Sir W. W. Hunter, "consists in the fact that he enlarged the responsibilities of the local administrations and gave them a new incentive to economy without diminishing the

* [illegible] p. 91.

authority of the Central Government, or loosening the unity of the British Power in India."

In the early part of 1871 a curious theft case occurred at Belvedere, and may be reproduced here from the work *Life in the Mofussil*, by G Graham (B C S 1860-72) who was Magistrate of the *24-Parganas* at the time Mr Graham wrote as follows —

Curious theft case at Belvedere

"At Belvedere, the residence of the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, were staying a Mr and Mrs Phillips (wrong names are purposely given throughout) connections of his One evening, Mrs Phillips missed a diamond ring, and information in due course was given to the police As the loss had occurred in the house of the Lieutenant-Governor, a great stir was made, and it was suggested that a detective constable should enter Phillips' service as a *khidmatgar*, and see what could be discovered Suspicion had fallen upon the *ayah*, and the constable in disguise made love to her, in order to get her confidence

At length he made a statement to his chief, the Commissioner of police, who had the *ayah* arrested, and the following was the case for the prosecution The constable alleged that he had succeeded in gaining the *ayah's* confidence, and she had admitted to him that she had stolen the ring She wished to sell it, but was afraid However, she had picked out one of the diamonds, and, if he could dispose of this for her successfully, she would give him another for the same purpose She had told him this, and given him the diamond under a tree on the *maidan* of Calcutta, where she had appointed a rendezvous

There were witnesses to prove that the constable and the *ayah* had been seen together under this tree at the time stated The diamond was produced, and Mr and Mrs Phillips both testified that to the best of their belief it was one of those from the missing ring The defence was merely a denial, and the evidence for the prosecution remained unimpeached The case was tried before the Deputy Magistrate of Alipore, who convicted the *ayah* and sentenced her to 18 months' imprisonment She appealed to Bramstone, who upheld the conviction and sentence The diamond was made over to the plaintiffs

Shortly after this, Phillips and his wife were moved to Serampore of which subdivision he was to have charge, and, on unpacking their

goods, the missing ring was found jammed in an inkstand with all the diamonds *intact* They sent the ring down to me and I recommended that the *ayah* should be pardoned Bramstone held out stoutly that the conviction was legal, and that the woman's relatives might have had another diamond put into the ring and the latter placed where it was sure to be found

Mrs. Phillips now recollected that on the evening of the loss the Lieutenant Governor's little daughter had been playing about her room and might have put her ring into the inkstand But she could not recollect whether the inkstand had been unpacked there or not so this was not much use I carried my point, and the *ayah* was released

But what was to be done with the surplus diamond which had also been returned to me? The constable had been arrested with a view to prosecution for perjury It appeared to me that it was more than probable that the police had fabricated this evidence and gone to the expense of purchasing the diamond —which after all was only valued at £2 10s —to get the credit of convicting somebody of the theft. The constable however stuck to his story

Shortly afterwards Mrs Phillips showed me a diamond locket with one diamond missing into the place of which I found the surplus diamond appeared to fit This gave rise to the theory that the *ayah* had picked the diamond out of the locket, with which to try the fidelity and business qualities of the constable keeping the ring intact for future disposal and that in consequence of what followed her friends to whom she had entrusted the ring had managed to get it restored as above described

I took the locket and ring to a jeweller who said that the surplus diamond was of the same character as those in the locket but that it was not possible to swear to its being the missing diamond as he could buy 1000 others exactly similar in the Burra Bazar in half an hour Under all these circumstances it was thought advisable to do nothing further and the real facts remain a mystery to this day

On Sir W Grey's retirement the *Friend of India* of Serampore wrote of him as follows — What there is to tell of Sir William Grey's life in India will never occupy a large space in history An effective worker in many matters of

the first importance, it can scarcely be said that he has been in any respect a real leader of men He has not been, in the Indian sense, a creative man, a bold initiator of policy, so much as a careful and a judicious critic with a keen eye for every fault—for every crevice in the armour of his opponents, and indeed of all who have taken part, during the 30 years of his Indian life in Indian affairs The good characteristics of Sir W Grey's administration have been patience, tact, thorough conscientiousness, real office—that is desk—Government, and an utter disregard of consequences when duty pointed in one direction and interest seemed to point in another The weak points of his administration have been a narrowness—Whiggery—in approaching great questions and a slowness to believe that men of views different from his might nevertheless be as honest as himself Half of the rumours about Minutes, against this, that and the other, have arisen from the public belief that Sir W Grey was all but certain to be minuting on something a Minute, pitiless in its logic, and yet, singularly enough, coming from a man who could be exceedingly merciful and forgiving even when he condemned Popular we should say, in the commonly understood meaning of the word, no one will term Sir W Grey and few persons, we should think are likely to class him among the foremost of Indian Administrators still less Statesmen Perhaps no assembly that could possibly be convoked in India would cheer heartily when his great services to India and England were told, though every one would admit the services to be great and real, and the motive of the highest, The story would merely be one of quiet work, in all manner of Secretariats and Directorates, in Bengal, to which he altogether belongs But without being popular, as popularity is usually understood, he has high respect wherever he is known When his portrait is put up in Calcutta, as it is to be, it should be marked—"The last and one of the best Bengal Civilians' Yes, we mean the last of an old school, excellent in its day, but never again to be resuscitated for high office in Bengal We know not what course Mr Campbell may take, but it is utterly impossible for him to take the same course, or feel in the same way as Sir W Grey There is not perhaps an intelligent man in India who will not agree that the Star of India which Sir W Grey will receive on Monday next (February 27, 1871) will be most worthily bestowed We have no

CHAPTER V

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL M P K C.S.I D C L.

1871—74

UNDER the Roman Republic the high office of Consul was attained ordinarily as the climax of a regular succession of public services. The *decursus honorum* i e the *certus ordo magistratuum* as it was termed—the "ladder of promotion"—lay usually through the inferior offices of Quæstor Ædile and Prætor to the Consulship Similarly as may have been observed the first 4 Lieutenant Governors had passed regularly through the appointments of Secretary to the Government of Bengal Secretary to the Government of India and Member of Council to the charge of the province of Bengal The *via processûs* appeared to be laid down on fixed lines Sir George Campbell s own observations (in 1872) on the dissolution of the system of succession which his nomination effected contain much that had been often said and may be here quoted —

"It may perhaps also be permitted to the present Lieutenant Governor to observe as some excuse for seeking to do some things not done by the distinguished men who preceded him notwithstanding his extreme inferiority in natural and acquired gifts and his entire want of that broad experience in the Secretariat and in the Government of India which they possessed that some of them had had very little practice as executive officers and were perhaps on that account less prepared to deal with executive details during the short term of Indian office than they otherwise might have been It is only repeating too what is generally believed to observe that their action was said to be much hampered and retarded by an unfortunate difference of opinion on minor matters which seems to have very frequently occurred between the Government of India and Bengal and which does not seem to have been allayed by the presence in the Council of the Governor General of a Bengal Civil Servant who not unfrequently differed from the Lieutenant Governor in office to be differed from when he succeeded to the Lieutenant Governor post." The selection of Sir George Campbell to be Lieutenant Governor was therefore contrary to all precedent. Not only was he a Civil

[illegible]

lian of the North-Western Provinces, but he had done no service in Bengal, except as a Judge of the High Court at Calcutta for 4 years His previous executive career had been entirely in other parts of India He was born in 1824, eldest son of the late Sir George Campbell, (elder brother of the first Lord Campbell, Lord Chancellor 1859-61), educated at the New Academy, Edinburgh, and at St Andrews, appointed to the Bengal Civil Service from Haileybury in 1842, and, making the voyage round the Cape in a P and O Steamer, arrived in India on the 25th December 1842 he served in Rohilkund in the usual subordinate revenue and judicial appointments from 1843 to 1846, was in charge of several districts and political Divisions of the Cis-Sutlej States 1846-51, and was mentioned with special praise by Lord Dalhousie While on furlough from 1851 to 1854 he was called to the Bar at the Inner Temple in 1854, and became an Associate of the Court of Queen's Bench, and published "Modern India" (dedicated to his uncle, then Lord Chief Justice of England) and "India as it may be" He married in 1854 while at home He was Magistrate-Collector of Azimghur, 1854, Commissioner of Customs, North-Western Provinces, 1855, Commissioner of the Cis-Sutlej States, 1855-7 took an active part as Civil Commissioner in some events of the Mutiny and was present at several engagements was Personal Assistant to Lord Canning, 1857-8 and judicial and financial Commissioner of Oudh, 1858 It was unusual promotion, such as would nowadays be impossible, that brought him from Oudh to be a Judge of the High Court, Calcutta, 1863-66 He was President of the Orissa Famine Commission; 1866-67, and Chief Commissioner of the Central Provinces, 1867-8 While on furlough in 1868-70 he became a candidate for Dumbartonshire in the Liberal interest, but retired from his candidature before the general election he then published his work on Irish Land Tenure, and was made a D C L of the University of Oxford His appointment to the Government of Bengal was, as he has himself recorded, a surprise He was on furlough and, "failing anything that he cared for, on the eve of retirement Late in the autumn of 1870, he received the offer of the Lieutenant-Governorship from the Secretary of State, the Duke of Argyll, between whom and the Governor-General Lord Mayo, the selection

Previous career

was arranged. If Sir G Campbell had not accepted the offer there is reason to believe that the choice would have fallen upon Sir A. J Arbuthnot, K C S. I of the Madras Civil Service The selection of a non Bengal officer was made for a particular purpose Bengal had for sometime been considered a 'sleepy hollow' which required arousing and there had been considerable friction between a Conservative Lieutenant-Governor and a Supreme Government bent on reforms. "Put shortly—the words are Sir George Campbell's—what was contemplated was a more active system of Government in Bengal instead of the old *laissez faire* and a more direct contact with the people There was work to be done in carrying out the policy of decentralisation of the finances, which would involve the imposition of local rates and taxes resisted for some time by the local authorities and the whole system of Bengal administration had come prominently and unfavourably into notice in connection with the Orissa famine of 1866 The appointment of an avowed reformer as their ruler was not likely to be popular in the conservative circles of Bengal and the new Lieutenant Governor's energy ability and masterfulness were soon felt throughout the province There has not been before and there has not been since such a period of active reform as the 37 months during which he administered the Local Government. And for no period is its history available in a more readable form In the Introductory Chapters prefixed to the provincial Administration Reports for 1871 72 and 1872 73 Sir G Campbell recorded almost entirely with his own hand the administrative history of Bengal to the end of December 1873 that is during 34 months of his tenure of office It was the summary of 1871 72 to which the Bishop of Calcutta (Dr Milman) added fame by his epigram at a University dinner at the Town Hall (Lord Northbrook presiding) when he spoke of it as being "as clear as crystal as complete as a circle and as amusing as a novel" (On the same occasion Sir G Campbell called himself a University man "born out of due time" in allusion to the Honorary D C L which connected him with Oxford) But Sir G Campbell himself supplemented the official accounts of his work in Bengal by Chapters XII—XIV of his "Memoirs of my Indian Career" edited by Sir Charles E. Bernard 1893 which contain a full account of his policy and action as Lieutenant Governor In many respects the

most active and interesting period of my life" Both the summaries and the portion of the autobiography emanated evidently from the heart of the writer, and are so genuine and original that they must ever rank among the most interesting and entertaining specimens of literature dealing with official subjects No acquaintance with the history of Bengal of the triennium 1871-74 can be complete without a knowledge of these publications It is impossible to reproduce them at full length, and it has not been easy to make selections from a mass of materials all possessed of such a high degree of interest Fortunately Sir G Campbell himself picked out the "notable events" which, with some additions, it will be sufficient to recount and describe as the main incidents of his Lieutenant Governorship It may be here mentioned that Lady Campbell did not accompany her husband to India on this occasion There was hospitality at Belvedere as usual, but everything was subordinated to work "I did not come out to India again to give big dinners," said Sir G Campbell, but he did give them Mr H S Beadon, I C S was his Private Secretary for his first year then Mr H Luttman-Johnson, I C S, and for his last few weeks Mr L C Abbott, I C S and I held the office.

Sonthal agitation

About the middle of the year 1871 intelligence was received that the Sonthals of the several *Parganas* were contemplating a visit to Dumka in great numbers This movement, it was said, was not confined to Dumka They intended going to all the district head-quarters, and perhaps even to Bhagalpur, with the avowed object of obtaining redress of grievances Their main complaints were that many of the *manjis*, or headmen, had been deprived of their villages because they had not agreed, on the expiry of their leases, to renew them at exorbitant rents, and that the villages had been leased at enhanced rents to strangers, who had rack-rented them, or that their *manjis*, being threatened with being deprived of their villages, had agreed to exorbitant terms and had in consequence been obliged to levy excessive rents from them A report spread that some 500 to 600 Bengalis of the Moheshpur district had left their houses and passed through to Jangipur from dread of the Sonthals who (they had heard) had risen and were following with the intention of looting the country The Railway Volunteers turned out to meet the danger The Raja of Moheshpur took active measures to allay this panic by reassuring his remaining

raiyats and bringing them back to their villages The Deputy Commissioner Mr Wood who proceeded to Moraroi to ascertain the cause of the panic and tranquillize the people had an interview with some *parganaits* or headmen and gave assurance to them that the Dumka Sonthals complaints were undergoing inquiry, and that just grievances would be redressed He at the same time told them that large gatherings got up for the purpose of intimidating Government officers would not be tolerated and only tended to weaken their case and that the Dumka gathering had without doubt been the primary cause of the present panic disturbing the minds of the timid and entailing on them serious distress privation and loss. The *parganaits* admitted the justness of his remarks and promised to allay the present panic so far as lay in their power by convincing the Bengalis that they had no reason whatever to expect any outbreak on the part of the Sonthals. For some months however considerable excitement prevailed and repeated gatherings of Sonthals gave rise to considerable uneasiness.

After the Sonthal insurrection of 1855 it had been intended to exclude the Sonthal *Parganas* from the operation of the General Acts but that district had gradually drifted more or less under the ordinary law and procedure Sir C Campbell was of opinion that the new difficulties were owing to the change of system in the Sontha *Parganas* It appeared to him that the Sonthals had good ground for complaint and he earnestly urged a reversion to the non regulation system of administration. The Government of India agreed that the indiscriminate extension of some Acts to the Sonthal *Parganas* had worked much mischief and that a peculiar and simpler form of administration was required On the Lieutenant Governor's recommendation a Regulation was passed under the Statute 33 Vic c 3 for the peace and good government of the Sonthal *Parganas* This Regulation gave the Lieutenant Governor full power to appoint officers to make a settlement of landed right to restore dispossessed *manjis* and others to settle rents and to record the customs and usages of the people It also introduced a usury law limiting the accumulation of interest on debts and it laid down what laws were to be in force in the *Parganas* and what were left to the discretion of Government to introduce or withdraw as found desirable from time to time The country gave no further cause for anxiety

The group of subjects of provincial finance, local taxation, and the self-government to accompany such taxation were matters in which Sir G. Campbell felt that it was his duty to carry out the policy laid down by superior power after much discussion and consideration He has left on record a description of the system which had until lately been in force "While the Local Governments had very great powers in many respects and, as regards some of the principal sources of income, especially the land revenue, exercised practically almost complete discretion, the power of the purse in respect of expenditure was completely centralized in the Government of India, by whom grants to the various Local Governments were made on detailed estimates of the needs of each department It was impossible that the central power could efficiently scrutinize these demands over so vast an Empire, and the result was sometimes that the Local Government asked as much as possible and the Central Government gave as little as possible, and so grants were adjusted by a species of compromise, under which, however, the general result seemed to have to some extent been that those who asked most and asked it most boldly and pertinaciously got most On this system many of the civil departments were constantly progressing in their expenditure when the Government of the late Earl Mayo determined to apply a remedy which had long been talked of but never carried into practical effect, *viz*, the assignment of certain funds and resources to the Local Government for certain purposes to be by them made the most of The arrangement adopted was as follows No sources of revenue were made over, other than the *per-contra* receipts of the executive departments transferred But the previous net assignments to certain departments, *viz*, Police, Jails, Education, Registration, Medical, Printing and Civil Public Works, were taken a proportion (about 7 per cent) was deducted as a relief to the imperial finances, and as representing a share of the burden to be charged upon the local resources, the remainder was made over as a fixed annual income

Provincial finance

It was intended that any deficiency thus caused, and any additional expenditure resulting from progress and improvement, should be met either by economy or by provincial or local taxation"

This was the scheme for the "decentralisation of the finances" previously described (page 473), an experiment which Sir G. Campbell

considered a complete and unalloyed success He recorded his opinion that there was inequality in the fixed assignment, Bengal having received proportionately to its population less than other provinces while at the same time in other provinces large revenues were already raised for local purposes by heavy cesses on the land for local roads local police and popular education whereas in Bengal there were scarcely any such resources, merely petty cesses partially levied in some districts by tolls on roads ferries and canals and the proceeds of pounds. He felt that *provincial* taxation must sooner or later be imposed but that as it was desirable to avoid if possible the imposition of too many burdens at once he should at first devote himself to *local* taxation properly so called trusting for provincial expenditure to economy and thrift. By these means he effected a saving of 14 lakhs—chiefly by avoiding "indulgence in the æsthetics of bricks and mortar"—increased the grants for education and medical relief and proposed no new taxation for *provincial* purposes. He calculated that the whole local taxation of the Bengal province was only about a quarter of a million sterling showing Bengal to be in this shape far more lightly taxed than any other part of India Under all the circumstances he thought it would be best and most consonant with the instructions of Her Majesty's Government to begin with a cess on immovable property of all kind for roads canals and other means of communication deferring the question of an educational cess of any kind he had doubts on the propriety of putting such a tax upon immovable property only or the land in particular

He therefore lost no time in setting to work to carry out the policy with which he considered himself to be charged The first important measure with which he had to deal was the introduction of the District Road Cess A Committee had met and proposed a plan of assessment before Sir G. Campbell assumed office A Bill was brought into the Legislative Council on the 23rd June 1871 by Mr A. H. Schalch Member of the Board of Revenue and received the Lieutenant-Governor's assent on the 19th July 1871 The Act X (B. C.) of 1871 was passed to provide for local rating for the construction and maintenance of roads and other means of communication in Bengal. Calcutta and district municipalities and towns were excluded

The Road Cess

from its operations it was not to come into force at once all over the country, but to be introduced gradually into such districts as Government might see fit. Its principles and main provisions can best be described in Sir G Campbell's own words

"The Bengal Road Cess Act of 1871 is a measure which first provides for the valuation of the land and for the record of the holders of these various rights, it also imposes rates on houses, mines, and other immovable property It then establishes local bodies, either nominated or elected from among the rate payers, which are to ascertain the needs of districts and localities in regard to roads, canals and other means of communication, to bring on their books all roads &c, which it is thought desirable to maintain as local public communications, to determine the work to be undertaken in the current year, and to strike a rate for the year to meet the necessary expenditure on the whole immovable property of the district This rate may in no case exceed ½ anna in each rupee of the net profits of the landholders and other owners, that is about 3 per cent The valuation is to last for 5 years, and to be subject to revision at the end of that period

"When the Act is introduced, the process of valuation commences and necessarily occupies a considerable period The *zamindars* are bound to render an account of all rents receivable by them from their under-tenants, it being provided throughout, in addition to penalties for false returns, that no rent not returned shall be recoverable by law When the *zamindars'* returns are received, if, as generally happens, their immediate tenants are sub holders superior to the cultivating *raiyat*, the same process is gone through with the sub-holders, they are required to file a statement of holdings under them, and so on, it may be through several gradations, till the actual *raiyat* is reached

"In regard to cultivating *raiyats* paying less than Rs 100 *per annum*, no attempt is made to distinguish between the different classes of *raiyats* possessed of more or less beneficial interest in the soil It is not sought to make an actual rack-rent valuation of the soil, but only an account of the rental actually paid

"To lessen the great labour involved in valuing the small holdings, so much more numerous than the large ones, and yet producing after all little in comparison, it is provided that small holdings paying less than Rs 100 annual revenue or rent may be summarily assessed in a rough way, either in proportion to their payments to the superior holder, or with reference to the gross quantity of land comprised in the tenure, if that has been or can be ascertained. If the summary valuation is favourable to the proprietor, he will accept it, if not, he is entitled to file

returns of the actual rental received from his *raiyats* so that he cannot pay on more, and may pay on less than his real rental

"Separate provision is made for the mode of rating houses and other immovable property houses below a certain value being exempt, so as entirely to exclude the huts of the labouring classes. The houses of those who pay as landholders or *raiyats* are also exempt if they have no other calling or profession.

"The Road Cess Act proceeds on the principle that ½ the rate is to be paid by the occupiers, that is by the *raiyats* and ½ by the rent receivers, each according to his own share of the profit. On the superior holders is also imposed the duty of collecting the money due from those under them, and paying the whole in a lump for each estate. A valuation roll of each estate, and of the district being completed, and the rate for the year being declared, of that rate will be published as the rate payable by the *raiyats* The holder immediately above the *raiyats* will collect from them the half rate and pay to his superiors the full rate for his holding less half rate on the rent or revenue receivable by the superior and each superior holder will pay to his own superior in like manner till the *zamindar* holding direct of Government pays the whole rate on the whole estate less half rate on the share of profits which goes to Government as land revenue The effect is that each holder passes on the *raiyats* half rate with a half rate paid by himself of his own share of the profits.

The measures taken to give effect to the Road Cess Act were as follows The Act was in the first instance introduced in 16 districts in different parts of the country those being chiefly selected in which, other things being suitable the demand for money for roads &c., had hitherto most largely exceeded the local collections such were specially some of the metropolitan districts. Three districts were added in which there was shown to be a similar necessity making 19 in all In all these districts the valuation proceedings were actively undertaken and concluded A special Deputy Collector with suitable establishment was told off to carry out the details in each district

At the same time that the Act was introduced into the districts above mentioned Sir G Campbell made a declaration in a Resolution dated 22nd August 1871 of the policy and intentions of the Government in regard to the funds hitherto distributed for local works It was determined that all taxes and tolls raised locally in each [illegible] should be retained in that district for its own local expen[illegible] instead of being [illegible] into a central fund at the dis

posal of Government as before The main lines of arterial communication, both roads and canals, were distinguished as provincial communications, to be maintained from general provincial funds, while it followed that any tolls levied on those lines of communication would go to the treasury which was to maintain them All other roads and communications were left to the district Committees, which were to settle those to be kept up The effect of the assignment to the districts of all ferry and road tolls, together with any other local receipts of the same description, was that some districts, especially those of the Patna Division, were, without additional taxation, considerably better off than ever they were before

When the rate was fixed in each district a Proclamation was issued, and circulated broadcast with a view to make the amount of the cess payable by the *raiyats* generally known and understood The Proclamation also contained certain promises of the principles to be followed Some of its paragraphs were as follows —

"This Proclamation is chiefly to inform the *raiyats* of their liabilities and rights

"From and after 1st October next every *raiyat* in the district of is bound to pay to the person to whom his rent is payable, and along with his rent, ½ the rate of road cess imposed by the Committee, that is, the *raiyat* is to pay for every rupee of rent This tax then is of the nature of a cess at per rupee of rent payable by each *raiyat* By the provisions of the regulations no other cess is legal or recoverable by law, this one cess only has been imposed by law, and the *zamindars* and other holders are authorized to levy it at the rate named above

"All persons assessed to the road cess are informed and assured by the Government that every pice levied under the Act will be spent in the district in which it is raised, to improve the local roads, canals, and rivers in the district for the benefit of the inhabitants, nothing will be diverted to any other purpose than that which the law directs

"Sub-divisions of the district will be arranged, and a fair proportion of the proceeds of the tax will be apportioned for the petty roads of that subdivision That money will be distributed and spent by local men trusted by the inhabitants, who will be selected for the purpose Every tax-payer is encouraged and invited to claim that the tax shall be fairly applied to the village roads and local paths or water channels in which he is interested The Government will use every effort to see that such

local claims are fairly met, and that every tax payer derives a fair benefit from the tax which he pays.

The land valuation commenced on the 15th of August 1871 and was completed by the 1st October 1873 throughout the 16 districts first taken up The valuations obtained by returns were considered fairly accurate The results showed that sub-infeudation was very general out of the aggregate valuation of nearly 4½ crores for the 16 districts fully 66 per cent were due to undertenures.

Towards the end of his time Sir G Campbell recorded that the working of the Road Cess Act had been a complete success—there had been no great difficulty in the valuations, which had been effected with ease and absence of friction. Collections had been commenced without hindrance and good progress had been made towards obtain ing a fair record and valuation of landed property and tenures in Bengal a sound basis for the local taxation of immovable property *and a good income for the construction and maintenance of roads* and water channels In 1874 Sir Richard Temple having regard to the successful results obtained extended the Act to all the districts except the Sonthal *Parganas* Singbhum the Chittagong Hill Tracts and Darjeeling It was anticipated that at ½ of a full rate the total yield from the road cess in the province would amount to about a quarter of a million sterling a year In his Memoirs of his Career Sir G Campbell has recorded that he felt some anxieties in passing the Road Cess Act and hardly expected such a success The Bengal *zamindars* were as it were taken by surprise by the new system imposed with all the authority not only of their own Government but with the weight of the Government of India and the Home Government behind They obeyed the requirements of the law and in doing so they found themselves in a kind of dilemma If they failed to disclose their rentroll they were at the mercy of the *raiyats* and could not recover their rents If they put down more than the truth they must themselves pay an exaggerated tax which they would probably fail to recover

In a speech in Council in March 1880 on the Bill which became the Cess Act of that year Sir A Mackenzie said —

With all his [illegible] longings for universal reform Sir G Campbell was as cautious [illegible] an administrator financially as India ever saw [illegible] great financial capacity has ever

been properly done He had an amazing grasp of both details and principles when dealing with such subjects When he thought his position secure for the time he postponed further taxation, which he had always avowedly kept in reserve, and proceeded to allot the funds in hand in order to give Bengal the improvements, moral and material, for which it had so long been crying But before the money could be utilized, famine swooped down upon the country and every farthing of his accumulations had to be surrendered to feed the people of the tracts distressed'

The Port Trust

The Calcutta Port was again the subject of legislation in 1871, in Act VII (B C) of that year The Port Trust Commissioners had taken charge of the "Port proper" of Calcutta, leaving the river Hooghly outside to be managed directly by the Marine Department of Government The governing body of the Port Trust consisted of 12 Commissioners, appointed by Government, most of them connected with the trade of the Port The Port Trust began its existence with a debt of £230,000, being the value of the plant already supplied by the Government On this they were to pay interest, a reserve of £30,000 being also accumulated and kept up to make good losses For new works they had borrowed from Government another £100,000, which was to be repaid within 30 years, and they were about to receive further loans for the same purpose Since the Commissioners assumed charge of the Port, the receipts of the Port had greatly exceeded its expenditure They had constructed along the river front additional jetties and warehouses and landing places at a cost of from £60,000 to £70,000 and paid for these works and appliances partly from loans and partly from current revenue One result of their work was that a large vessel could unload in half the time that it required in 1869, and in another year there would be the same facilities for loading also Meanwhile, there was a prospect of the Port dues being soon reduced, and all Port affairs working more smoothly and more satisfactorily to the public and to Government than before There could be no doubt that the Port Trust was a great success The plan was due to the late Lieutenant-Governor, Sir W Grey, who originated it and its fruition was in fact a triumph of his administration

In 1871 an Act was passed to empower the Lieutenant-Governor

to cause a bridge to be constructed with Government capital across the river between Calcutta and Howrah at such place at or near Armenian Ghat as he might select to make and maintain ways and approaches to authorize the levy of tolls according to a fixed scale &c. and to appoint the Port Commissioners to carry out the purposes of the Act. The project of a floating bridge had been referred by the Government of India to the Chief Engineer who reported on the proposal approving of the engineering arrangements and details generally, but expressed grave doubts as to the wisdom of adopting a bridge of this class for such a river as the Hooghly. The Government of India having accepted the modification of some details proposed by the Chief Engineer and alterations in mooring gear recommended by the Harbour Master informed the Bengal Government that they considered a floating bridge all that was required for the present. In moving for leave to bring in the *Bill* for the construction of the *Bridge* the Hon'ble Sir A. Eden mentioned that a contract had been entered into with Sir Bradford Leslie the eminent engineer for the construction of such a bridge at a cost not exceeding £150 000 to be completed by the beginning of 1873. The work was forthwith commenced in England and the portions of the bridge sent out and put together in Calcutta.

The Calcutta Howrah bridge.

The excessive rainfall of 1871 caused great flood in Central Bengal in some of the districts most *under the* domain of the great rivers but the only great flood of very widely disastrous consequences was that which affected the *districts of Murshidabad Nadia and Jessore and more especially Nadia*. The embankments on the left bank of the Bhagirathi in the Murshidabad district, gave way and the waters from that and other directions swept into the Nadia district carried away portions of the Eastern Bengal Railway and poured into parts of Jessore. Even in this case however the result almost justified the converse of the English proverb and a statement that rain never breeds dearth in India. The losses in Nadia and parts of other districts were certainly extensive. Sir G. Campbell himself saw a state of things from which he could hardly have believed that the population could have recovered still less that they could have emerged self supporting [illegible] wonderful self reliance and self help and eventually

[illegible]

made very little demand for the assistance which the Government was prepared to give in case of need There was little loss of life, but a terrible loss and mortality among cattle The means of the flooded districts, had, no doubt, been decreased, to such a degree that it took them some time to recover, but perhaps the Indian proverb, "The corner of a field saved from flood is worth 10 fields saved from drought," explained in some degree their recovery Whatever crop did not perish produced abundantly and the after effects of flood were very good

Murder of the Officiating Chief Justice Norman

Universal horror was excited by the murder on the 20th September 1871 of the Officiating Chief Justice of the High Court, the Hon ble John Paxton Norman, as he was ascending the steps of the Town hall, on his way to his Court there (the new building for the High Court being still under construction) The following account is based on the report in one of the newspapers of the time Probably there was not a man in India more generally beloved and esteemed than was Mr Norman of whom, above all men, it might have been asserted that he had not an enemy His large-hearted kindliness of nature, the geniality of his disposition, his open-handed hospitality and charity, and consideration for others, had endeared him to all with whom he was brought in contact To the natives of India Mr Norman was a true friend, taking an active part in all measures for their advancement, and heartily associating with them in private and public As a judge he was known as a sound lawyer and a man of large common sense and sagacity, enabling him readily to arrive at a correct conclusion on intricate questions of fact A robust healthy man, fond of nature and outdoor exercise, he was the very ideal of an honest English gentleman In the full vigour of life, when soon about to return to his native land after a long career in India of usefulness and well-doing, he was cruelly murdered

The facts of the crime, so far as they were ascertained, were as follows At 11 o'clock on Wednesday morning, the 20th September, the Officiating Chief Justice having alighted from his carriage under the portico of the Town Hall, where he was about to sit to hear appeals, turned round on the uppermost of a flight of 8 stone steps leading into the Hall, to give some order to his coachman On the instant a man who was standing concealed behind the doorway

rushed out and stabbed the Chief Justice in the back under the left shoulder with a long broad bladed dagger the knife dividing the eighth rib and passing through the diaphragm On receiving the blow the Chief Justice turned round and the assassin plunged the dagger into his abdomen with such force as to touch the spine and cause severe internal injury Mr Norman thereupon ran down the steps pursued by the murderer who was about to strike him a third time when the Chief Justice dashed a brick which he had picked up into the man s face and caused him to stagger backwards. At this moment Mr Norman had got about 10 yards from the building and the large number of persons chiefly natives who had witnessed the occurrence surrounded the murderer but did not venture to close with him as he was brandishing his knife. A native workman however felled him with a stroke of a bamboo and a native policeman wrested the dagger from him getting his own hands cut in so doing A European constable having run up with a rope, the murderer was bound hand and foot and removed amid the execrations of the Hindu officers of the Court and others who were standing by The Chief Justice still stood leaning against a post, but he was quickly placed in a *palki* and carried off to the nearest dispensary Before he was taken away in the *palki* he said I don t think I shall live On the way Dr W Palmer came up and at his suggestion Mr Norman was carried into the shop of Messrs Thacker Spink & Co where he was laid on a couch in a back room and his wounds were examined Dr Fayrer also was soon in attendance and did all that surgical skill could devise to give the sufferer relief though it was evident from the first that either wound was mortal The pain endured by the Chief Justice was great but throughout he exhibited a manly fortitude which was the surest answer to the prayer he himself uttered as he lay in his agony God have mercy upon me and give me courage and patience to bear through to the end Later on he asked the friend who was standing by his couch to say the Lord s Prayer which the Chief Justice followed sentence by sentence pausing at and slowly repeating the words As we forgive them that trespass against us The house in which he lay was thronged all day by his colleagues and friends but except his wife the medical men and one or two of those whom he knew most intimately no one stayed in the room with him The

Archdeacon of Calcutta, Dr Pratt, saw him for a few minutes in the afternoon, but he was then too much exhausted to bear conversation Drs Norman Chevers, Ewart, and Walker, were also in attendance and the two first remained with him until he died He retained consciousness for some hours, but towards midnight he began to sink rapidly and breathed his last at 1-20, on the morning of the 21st

The news was immediately telegraphed to the Government, and in the course of the day 2 Gazettes Extraordinary were published, one by order of the Governor-General in Council, stating that the funeral was to be conducted and a monument erected in the Cathedral at the public charge, ordering the public offices to be closed, and 17 minute guns to be fired at the time of the funeral, and inviting all officers of Government and the community of Calcutta, "to testify, by their presence, their respect for the high character of the deceased, and their abhorrence of the foul crime which had been committed" A similar request was expressed in the Gazette issued by the Government of Bengal In accordance with these notices all the public offices in the city were closed, every shop was shut, and business entirely suspended The flags of the ships lying in the river, and the standard in Fort William, were hung half-mast-high throughout the day The whole city was in mourning, in genuine unaffected sorrow at the loss of one who had been loved as a friend, not merely esteemed as a public man At 5 in the evening the funeral procession left the house of the deceased, in Russell Street, where the public had been admitted to see the body before the coffin was closed The crowd was so great that it was found impossible to allow carriages generally to follow the hearse, so that the majority of those who attended the funeral proceeded on foot I remember that I only reached the top of Park Street in time to meet the chief mourners returning after the ceremony at the Circular Road cemetery The Commisioner of Police was completely taken by surprise by the magnitude of the attendance Deputations had been sent from all the leading Associations, European and native, in the town, but the mass of persons of all ranks and nationalities who had assembled to take part in the ceremony caused all distinction of societies to be lost The same confusion prevailed at the cemetery, which was crowded with a multitude of persons long before the funeral

procession arrived The service was performed by the Archdeacon amid the deep silence of the great assemblage of persons Christians Hindus Muhammadans Jews Greeks Parsis and Americans who had gathered together to do homage to the memory of him who had so long presided over their Courts

The murderer when brought before the Magistrate had no defence to offer When asked whether he had any question to put to the witnesses against him he said — The earth is much below the water and the men have gone to the skies the dog is eating the wall.' He was committed to take his trial at the Criminal Sessions of the High Court on the capital charge He was tried by the officiating Judge Mr (afterwards Sir) G C Paul convicted, sentenced and hanged Little more was definitely ascertained concerning him than that he was a native of the Panjab and had been for 2 years living in a mosque in Calcutta His name was Abdulla and he was said by some of the witnesses to have gone by the appellation of 'Maulvi Shaib He was a short thickset man of about 45 years of age with a savage determined expression and very low forehead It was almost certain that the motive of the crime was not personal but beyond that opinion rested almost entirely on conjecture A petition was picked up near the scene of the crime but it was a mere blind and was never presented to the Chief Justice The inclination of belief was that the murderer was connected with the seditious Muhammadan sect of Wahabis but he admitted nothing and after making a feint of insanity which he quickly abandoned he contented himself with denying all connection with the murder Sir G Campbell wrote as follows of the deceased Judge formerly his colleague on the Bench —

The late Chief Justice Norman was a man who never had and could not have had an enemy Not only was he beloved by all his fellow countrymen but probably in all India there was no man whose feeling toward the natives was more kindly who more actively interested himself in their welfare and who was more accessible to them and more ready to listen to all they had to say and to sympathise with them. He was in every way the most popular of men and so simple in his habits that any one might approach him at any time He was murdered in the most public place possible where he was surrounded by crowds by an assassin who made and could make no attempt to escape The man died on the scaffold without giving any

intelligible account of his motives He neither showed any feeling for his own situation nor attempted any bravado, he would only say that he was enraged or excited and felt impelled to the act The crime was of course the subject of much investigation and anxious inquiry Rumours and suspicions of political conspiracy were rife, but the closest inquiry failed to show any grounds for such suspicion The man's history was to some extent traced He was a foreigner, but for some years had led a wandering unsettled life in India, a morose, a peculiar, solitary man of limited intellect, yet with a desire to acquire clerkly qualifications, in which he had constantly failed, religious in his own gloomy sort of way One part of his history seemed to be clearly made out, *viz*, that while attending the Government school at Mirzapur, where he kept aloof from his fellows and refused to make obeisance to the Bishop with the others when that dignitary visited the school, he had shown symptoms of a homicidal mania, and had even there talked of killing the Judge, but, being told by his religious adviser that it was unlawful to do so, he went off in disgust.'

The Lushai expedition

After a full discussion in the summer of 1871, the Government of India sanctioned the despatch of an expedition into the Lushai country in the cold weather of 1871-72, to prevent the recurrence of the outrages lately committed on British territory It was settled that the force should be of a regular military character, divided into 2 portions, one column starting from the Chittagong Hill Tracts on the south and proceeding northwards, and the other setting out from Cachar on the north and marching southwards Two columns were accordingly organized, the Chittagong column under the command of Brigadier General, C H Brownlow, C B, with Captain Lewin as his Political officer, and the Cachar Column under Brigadier General G Bourchier, C B, with Sir J W Edgar, C S, in a civil capacity By the orders of the Governor-General the entire political and military conduct of the expedition was placed in the hands of the military commanders, they were specially instructed that the object of the expedition was not one of pure retaliation, but that the surrender of the British subjects held in captivity should be insisted upon, that they were to establish permanent friendly relations with the savage tribes, and convince them that they had nothing to gain and everything to

lose by placing themselves in a hostile position towards the British Government. From the very commencement of the preparations for the expedition, success depended more upon the efficiency of carriage than any other contingency

The Government of India ordered that the strength of the 2 coolie corps should be raised to 4,000 men including the Commissariat coolies and advantage was taken of the existing Commissariat agency in the Upper Provinces to recruit coolies for the expedition The Nepalese corps enlisted by Captain Hidayat Ali was intended to accompany the Cachar column and on or about the 14th November some 800 of them with their mates and *sardars* were embarked at Dhubri. Unfortunately between Dacca and Chattack cholera broke out with all its fury and on reaching the latter place it was found that from deaths and desertions the corps had been reduced from upwards of 800 to 601 men with 6 *sardars* and 24 mates A body of 316 Nepalese was also got together for service with the Chittagong column Among these also cholera appeared when *en route* for Chittagong and they lost 40 of their number Of other coolies 4 618 were collected throughout the country a number which from rejections and desertions was reduced before embarkation to 4 403 men Of these 1 924 were sent to Cachar and 2 4,9 to Chittagong Including therefore the Nepalese coolies the strength of the corps assigned to the left column was 2 764 men and of that attached to the right column was 2 791 men

The Cachar force consisted of half a battery of Artillery a company of Sapper and 500 men each of the 22nd Panjab N I 42nd Assam Light Infantry and 44th Assam Light Infantry a coolie corps together with 178 elephants and 1 200 coolies for Commissariat purposes were also attached to the column Tipai Mukh the junction of the Tipai and Barak river had been fixed upon as the starting place and advanced base of operations and by the 15th December the greater portion of the force was collected there

They then marched through a very difficult country constantly exposed to attacks from enemies who rarely showed themselves until on the 2nd February they reached Sellam the chief [illegible] strong hold Before arriving at this village a somewhat spirited encounter took place between our troops and the enemy on the Mowthlang range Our route lay above and parallel to the bed of a *nala* about a

mile and a half from the camp The advanced guard was fired into, and presently on all sides a sharp fire was opened The enemy were found in considerable force, but were attacked by the 44th Assam L I, and severe punishment inflicted on them, finally they were pursued up a precipitous mountain side and 2 of their stockades stormed. One satisfactory result was that the English ammunition found on the slain proved that they had been the raiders last year at Monierkhal and Nandigram On the 12th February a small portion of the column, carrying only necessary supplies started from Sellam for Lalbura's locality, the distance or whereabouts of which no one knew They met with no opposition, and on the 17th February entered Chumfai, Lalbura's chief village, which they found deserted In the centre of the village was the tomb of Vonolel, an elevated platform, on every point of which were hung skulls of different wild animals, while in the centre, on a pole, was the fresh-slain head of a Sukti, with his hand and foot The village, consisting of 500 houses, was burnt Then the tribes of Vonpilel, Poiboy and Vonolel had been subdued, and the capital of the latter destroyed The General therefore set out for Chumsin, the village of Vonolel's widow, where he dictated the terms on which alone it and the other villages of Lalbura would be spared These terms were (1) that agents from the Government should have free access to Lalbura's villages and transit through his country, (2) that 3 hostages should accompany the column to Tipai Mukh, (3) that the arms taken at Monierkhal and Nandigram, or an equal number of their own, should be surrendered, (4) that a fine of 2 elephants' tusks, 1 set of war gongs, 1 necklace, 10 goats, 10 pigs, 50 fowls, and 20 maunds of husked rice, should be delivered within 24 hours There was difficulty about the arms, but eventually everything was delivered before morning, except a small portion of rice The possibility was then considered of forming a junction with General Brownlow, and signal rockets were fired, hoping that they might attract his attention, but without success The column then set out on its march home, and the General Commanding reached Cachar on the 10th March, having advanced 193 miles from Cachar and 110 from his first base in the enemy's country at Tipai Mukh, until he reached the stronghold of Lalbura, the most powerful of the Lushai chiefs

Nor were the operations of the right or Chittagong column less

successful This force of about the same strength as that starting from Cachar was, however chiefly composed of Gurkha Regiments. Its advanced base was at Demagiri on the Karnafuli where the force assembled at the end of November The tribes which General Brownlow had to reduce to submission were the Syloos and the Howlongs the latter being the most distant Mary Winchester who had been carried off from Alexandrapur in 1871 being a captive in their hands. At Barkhal the chief Rutton Pooea came in it had been doubtful whether he would give in his adhesion to us or not, but the prospect of a large force assembling at Demagiri in the neighbourhood of his own village no doubt influenced him greatly and induced him to cast in his lot with us From Barkhal he acted as guide to a force that marched from that place to Demagiri by land and subsequently throughout the whole expedition he was of the greatest possible assistance in carrying on negotiations

A move was first made on the 9th December against the Syloos the troops marched in a north-easterly direction occupied the hill marked Syloo Savunga on the map and thence penetrated to Laljika the village of one of Savunga's sons In reaching this point the force had to march through a most intricate country being obliged in places literally to hew their way through the jungle They succeeded however in striking severe and rapid blows as they passed Vanhnoya's Vanshuma Vanuna's and Vanhoolen stronghold were all captured and the stores of grain in them burnt From Laljika the General returned to Savunga intending thence to make an expedition into the northern Howlong country As however Rutton Pooea and Mahomed Azim the police *subadar* had been sent on a mission to the Howlongs it was deemed expedient to await their return before any hostile occupation of the latter tribe's country was attempted In the meantime Captain Lewin had despatched a messenger to Benkuei the principal northern Howlong chief in whose hands Mary Winchester was and he at once gave up the girl reserving however all questions as to submission and his other captives On their journey back these messengers met Rutton Pooea and the *subadar* and the latter having taken charge of Mary Winchester brought her to Rutton Pooea's village near Demagiri where she was sent to Chittagong Rutton Pooea ce[illegible] unless his was to Vanlula the chief of the Southern Howlon[illegible]

As soon as possible General Brownlow started with a portion of his force against the northern Howlongs, having first left a sufficient garrison at Syloo Savunga The force crossed the Daleswar and on the next day some of the enemy were seen, they were communicated with through some of Rutton Pooea s men, and evinced a desire to submit The march was however, continued until definite information was received that Benkœa and Sangbunga were advancing to tender their submission They arrived in a few days and without hesitation accepted the terms imposed on them These were the surrender of all captives, an engagement on their part to live amicably with all subjects from Manipur to Arracan, with free right of access to our people through their whole country A day or two afterwards, Lalbura, Jatoma, and Lienrikoom who were the remaining chiefs of the northern Howlongs, came in and agreed to similar terms There upon the force commenced its march back to Syloo Sangbunga, and there Lal Gnoora and Laljika, sons of Savunga (or Sangbunga), Vanoya, Vanloola, and three other chiefs, representing the whole of the Syloo tribe, made their submission on the same terms as the Howlongs There only remained now the southern Howlongs and to commence proceedings against them it was necessary to return to Demagiri, and starting from that place a show of force was made in the direction of Sypooea and Vandula, whose villages were said to be from 3 to 5 days march east of Rutton Pooea An advance was made to Sypooea's village, a distance of 40 miles, and he immediately submitted Subsequently Vantonga came in with a number of captives and next morning Sanghena, Vandula's eldest son, followed, and his submission was accepted on behalf of his father, he agreeing that his captives should be given up The submission of the tribes being now complete, the force marched back to Chittagong, the last of the troops reaching that place on the 24th February

After the expedition, a police force of 100 men was located at Rutton Pooea's village to protect him against the Syloos and Howlongs, and sanction was given to the occupation of another site considerably in advance On the Cachar side a number of posts were strengthened, the question of future defence and of opening a line of communication with Chittagong along the eastern boundary of Hill Tippera being reserved.

It may be mentioned that Colonel F S Roberts v c. (afterwards Lord Roberts Commander in Chief) was Assistant Quarter Master General to the Cachar column. Sir G Campbell wrote of Sir J Edgar having conducted all his duties in an admirable manner and he was shortly afterwards made a Companion of the Order of the Star of India.

In June 1872 the Secretary of State congratulated the Viceroy on the results of the Lushai expedition as being not less creditable to the wisdom and moderation of the Government which sanctioned the expedition than to the military authorities who conducted the enterprise to a successful issue He specially attributed much of the success to the thoughtful and unremitting interest which H E the Commander in Chief had throughout taken both in the plan and in the conduct of the operations The services of the Military and Political officers were also suitably acknowledged

When the future policy of Government towards the Lushai tribes came to be considered and the measures necessary for the permanent defence of Cachar and Chittagong the Government of India adhered to the system of exercising political influence only without direct interference of control coupled with the definition of a precise boundary line beyond which ordinary jurisdiction should on no account extend The line was to be guarded by a chain of posts and beyond it only political relations with the tribes were to be cultivated Careful surveys were made of the frontier lines A large portion of the Lushai country was brought within the familiar knowledge and political control of our officers and most of the remainder was explored and mapped by parties who had friendly relations with the tribes The Lieutenant Governor favoured the policy of maintaining an advanced post to bring political influence to bear upon the Syloos Howlongs and other tribes whose country was more accessible from the Chittagong Hill Tracts than on the Cachar side The Shindus in the direction of Arracan were more difficult to approach The Lushai raids ceased entirely Government passed a Regulation under the Stat 33 and 34 Vic c 3 with a view to bringing under more stringent control the commercial relations of our own subjects with the frontier tribes living on the borders of our jurisdiction

The epidemic fever broke out again in July 18[illegible] with extreme

The Burdwan fever

virulence, first in the town of Burdwan, then in the greater part of the district, and in Hooghly, causing the same mortality and reduction of the general health of the people as before Government did all that it was possible to do Dispensaries were established wherever required and medicines and medical men supplied food relief depots were also opened Towards the close of the year the fever greatly abated in both districts The causes of the disease and its ultimate prevention were still in doubt A systematic survey of the levels and drainage of this part of the country was undertaken by the Irrigation Department with a view to verify the exact physical facts Sir G Campbell considered it possible that the fever might be aggravated, if not caused, by the gradual silting up of the country, as the Gangetic streams have moved further east since the beginning of the present century "The observations of the disease seem, however, to show that it creeps over the country, taking hold in many cases of high lands and low lands alike, and after a period relaxing its hold in a way which seems to indicate, if not contagion, or infection at least some kind of local progression which we do not understand And however we may mitigate the disease by drainage or other engineering expedients, there is still much for medical science to discover before we can understand it so as to cope with it effectually"

In 1872-3 this fever appeared extensively in all districts of the Burdwan Division except Bankura Its previous history was thus summarized —"It began to rage about 10 years ago in Jessore and Nadia and caused much consternation and havoc in several parts of these districts It gradually spread to the northern parts of the 24-*Parganas*, and in 1864-65 crossed the Hooghly and appeared in the northern portion of the Hooghly district In 1866 it appeared in the eastern and southern parts of the Burdwan district During 1867-68 it continued to prevail and spread in these districts along the course of the Damodar river, and in 1869 the town of Burdwan was attacked, and many places in both districts suffered severely In 1870 the type and mortality were not so severe, but in 1871 fever broke out with renewed violence, and was more wide-spread and fatal than ever It also extended to the parts of Birbhum and Midnapore bordering on the Burdwan and Hooghly districts The disease commenced in July and continued to cause most serious sickness and mortality

throughout the whole of the cold season of 1871 72 The year 1871 closed with the epidemic in full sway throughout large portions of Birbhum and Midnapore " In the year 1872 73 all that was in the power of Government was done by providing dispensaries and medical relief In some parts of the country most affected the fever it was hoped was wearing itself out and subsiding but it was also it was feared marching southwards into Midnapore as well as into the northern parts of Birbhum In 1873 the disease abated during the spring and summer but increased in the autumn The causes of the fever remained mysterious but renewed efforts were made to investigate them An idea that its special virulence as an aggravated form of malarious fever "was attributable to insanitary conditions filth, over grown jungle &c was exploded because it did not vary according to the degree of filth &c Raja Digambar Mitra had strenuously ascribed it to obstructed drainage but his facts and deductions were called in question some assigned natural deltaic changes and others over population and destitution as the cause others again thought that typhus or typhoid fever constituted the real epidemic a fungus theory was also started but not verified Sir G Campbell expressed the opinion that whatever the origin or character of the fever it marched from place to place by some kind of communication and progression Places which it had invaded and held for years had been gradually abandoned by it and become healthy again while it advanced over other tracts previously healthy marching onwards by a gradual progress So much at least seemed to him certain

Dengue fever

The very peculiar fever or disease known as dengue commenced to attract notice in Calcutta towards the end of 18,1 and was rife in 18 2 It prevailed during the cold weather and increased rapidly as the hot weather advanced It continued to rage epidemically during the hot weather and rains and few escaped its attack Very few deaths were caused by it though the symptoms violent fever and racking pains were exceedingly severe during the few days of acute suffering and the attack was apt to be followed by prolonged debility and rheumatic or neuralgic affections Ca[illegible] of relapse were al[illegible] unfrequent The epidemic [illegible] ways [illegible] the [illegible] of the rain Cases began to occur in [illegible] and [illegible] in December [illegible] but the [illegible]

not spread to the suburbs or surrounding districts till March and April All the suburbs of Calcutta were visited, and the epidemic extended all over the 24-*Parganas* It reached different localities at different times, and could always be traced to importation The outbreak generally lasted for about 3 months from the date of the first to that of the last case The epidemic was carried to different parts of the province, and followed the great routes of human intercourse

Assassination of the Viceroy the Earl of Mayo

The assassination of the Viceroy, the Earl of Mayo, at the Andamans on the 8th February 1872 profoundly affected Bengal and Calcutta, so that an account of it may properly find a place here A Narrative of the facts was published by the Government of India on the 13th February

" This Narrative contains a statement of all that is known to Government up to the present time His Excellency The Viceroy arrived in Her Majesty's Steam Frigate *Glasgow* at the convict settlement of Port Blair, Andamans, at 9-30 A M, on Thursday, the 8th February Shortly after 11 A M His Excellency and the Countess of Mayo, with the staff and other gentlemen and ladies, landed at Ross, the chief station of the Settlement, and were received at the pier by the troops lining the approaches The Countess of Mayo and the ladies proceeded to the house of the Superintendent, Major General Stewart, C B, while the Viceroy and suite, accompanied by General Stewart, visited the convict establishments at this station His Excellency inspected the *sadar* bazar, the convict barracks, the Native Infantry Lines, the hospitals, the new Church, and other public buildings, and was accompanied throughout by a strong guard of both Native Infantry and police, who closely attended His Excellency on either side of and behind the Staff immediately surrounding him After a short rest at the house of the Superintendent, the Viceroy inspected the barracks of the European troops, and assisted by Colonel Jervois, R E, C B, and Colonel Rundall, R E, made a minute examination of the foundations and walls of the buildings, to ascertain the cause of their having given way shortly after they were built His Excellency then, attended as before, visited the European convict barracks and library, and returned with the Countess of Mayo and party to H M S Ship *Glasgow* by 2 P M.

At 3 P M the Viceroy accompanied by Major General Stewart, C B the Hon'ble Mr Ellis Colonel Jervois C. B. Mr (Sir) G W Allen and the Personal Staff—Major Burne Private Secretary Captains Lockwood and Gregory Aides-de Camp and Mr Hawkins R.N., Flag Lieutenant—left the *Glasgow* in a steam launch and passing the stations of Aberdeen and Haddo landed at Viper Island This station is in the inner harbour about 5 miles from Ross, and here are detained about 1 300 convicts including all those who are received from India with the character of being desperate men and all who, by their bad conduct during their residence in the Settlement, have been proved deserving of specially rigorous treatment. His Excellency was received at the landing place by the officials in charge and was here as in Ross closely attended by a guard of Native Infantry and police. After an inspection of the jail and other arrangements the Viceroy and party returned to the steam launch and visited Chatham a station on a small island dividing the inner from the outer harbour His Excellency under the escort of a guard of police and the petty officers of the station (there being no Native Infantry on this island) inspected the saw mills and the coaling depot and then re-embarked in the steam launch leaving on board the steamer *Nemesis* then lying at the coaling station, Captain Gregory Aide-de Camp who had to give orders in anticipation of the proposed departure of the *Nemesis* early on the following morning

It was then nearly 5 P M and the Viceroy decided that he would visit Mount Harriet It had been proposed earlier in the day that His Excellency should do this if time allowed but no decision had been come to nor had any notice been given that this place would be visited by His Excellency that evening Mount Harriet is a lofty hill on the main island nearly opposite Chatham There is no regular convict station on the hill but below it is Hopetown where there are convicts chiefly invalids and ticket of leave men with a few others required for work at the station

The Viceroy landed from the steam launch at the pier at Hopetown where Mr Ellis left the party and returned to the steamer *Dacca* There being ordinarily no free police or sepoy guard in this station the Superintendent ordered the guard from Chatham Island to [illegible] to Hopetown to escort the Viceroy and accordingly 8 [illegible] men from Chatham arrived just after His Excellency landed

accompanied him to the top of the hill, and were with him throughout There was one pony here, and His Excellency rode up part of the way The road is narrow, but the ground on either side has been cleared, and in places plantain and cocoanut trees have been planted On reaching the top, His Excellency sat down for about a quarter of an hour The sun had set, but there was light enough for a view of the whole Settlement, with its numerous islands and inlets Two ticket-of-leave men addressed the Viceroy on his way down, and were informed by General Stewart that on their making formal petitions their cases would be inquired into. No other convicts were met on Mount Harriet they were all at their huts at Hopetown below

While the Viceroy was still on the hill, Captain Lockwood, Aide-de-Camp, and Count Waldstein (who had joined the party before they commenced the ascent) went on in front and arrived at the pier, the latter about a quarter of an hour, and the former some 10 minutes, before the rest of the party It was then dusk, but not quite dark, and when Captain Lockwood and Count Waldstein met on the pier and sat down on some stones, about 20 yards from the pier-head, waiting for His Excellency, there was apparently no one loitering on the pier, though they saw men passing to and fro carrying water for the steam-launch

By the time His Excellency reached the foot of the hill it was a quarter past 7 and quite dark, and lighted torches were by order of an officer of the Settlement sent to meet the party. The huts where the convicts, some 40 or 50 in number, were drawn up had been past, General Stewart had stopped to give orders to an overseer, and the Viceroy had walked about ⅓ the length of the pier preceded by 2 torch-bearers, and a few paces in advance of the rest of the party, when a man jumped on him from behind and stabbed His Excellency over the left shoulder, and a second time under the right shoulder-blade, before any one could interpose The assassin was at once knocked down by the guard and people in attendance, and, but for the interference of the officers, would probably have been killed There is no consistent account to show how the man made his way to the Viceroy, and it is not clear whether he was lying concealed on the side of the pier, or whether he rushed in from behind. Major Burne and the Viceroy's *jamadar* were a few paces from

the Viceroy Colonel Jervois Mr Hawkins, and Mr Allen some what behind and the police and petty officers of the station in flank and rear

The Viceroy on being struck moved forward and staggered over the side of the jetty it is not certain whether he fell into the water or jumped into it but he either quickly raised himself or alighted on his feet and stood for a few seconds till he was assisted up and placed on a truck close by The only words he uttered after the blow were I'm hit or words of similar sound and the only movement he made after being placed on the truck was a convulsive motion forwards It is probable that His Excellency expired then but the precise moment of his death is not ascertained He was at once carried on board the launch every effort was made to staunch the flow of blood from the wound on the top of the shoulder and to keep up the circulation by rubbing the extremities but to no purpose as the Viceroy was dead before the steam launch reached the *Glasgow*

The Surgeons of the vessel were promptly in attendance and Dr Barnett was summoned at once A *post mortem* examination was forthwith made by Dr Jones Staff Surgeon R.N., Dr Barnett Personal Surgeon to the Viceroy and Dr More Assistant Surgeon R N in the presence of the Hon ble B H Ellis Member of Council the Hon'ble Ashley Eden Chief Commissioner British Burma Mr Aitchison Foreign Secretary and Major Burne Private Secretary It then for the first time became known that there were 2 wounds, and it was the opinion of the medical officers that either wound was sufficient to cause death

The assassin was at once secured and taken on board the *Glasgow* He was shortly afterwards interrogated by the Hon'ble Mr Eden and by Mr Aitchison and stated that his name was Shere Ali the son of Wulli that he came from a village near Jamrud at the foot of the Khyber that he had no accomplices that it was his fate and that he had committed the act by the order of God He was then removed ashore and kept during the night in custody of a guard of European Infantry

Early on the morning of the 9th the prisoner was again brought on board the *Glasgow* where the Magistrate Major Playfair held a preliminary inquiry and after hearing the evidence of the European

gentlemen and others who were present, committed the assassin for trial before General Stewart The knife was a common one, such as is used for cooking or other domestic purposes, it was taken from the assassin on the spot by Urjoon, a convict petty officer who was slightly scratched by the knife, and had his coat torn in securing it The prisoner did not freely confess before the Magistrate as he had confessed the night before, nor did he deny his guilt He said that if any of the European gentlemen present would state that they had seen him commit the deed he would admit it, but not otherwise The final trial before General Stewart was being proceeded with, but had not been concluded at the time of the latest advices

The assassin is 30 years of age, strong and well made He is a Khyberi of the Kuki-Kheyl clan, and a resident of Pakhri in the Cabul territory He was convicted on the 2nd April 1867 of murder by Colonel Pollock, Commissioner of Peshawar, and, being sentenced to transportation for life, was forwarded, via Karachi and Bombay, to the Andamans Penal Settlement He arrived there in May 1869, and, except on one occasion, on which he had in his possession some flour for which he could not account, nothing whatever has been recorded against him The prisoner was removed to Hopetown on the 15th May 1871, in order to perform duty as barber at that station, and he has since been employed there

Major General Stewart was called on by Mr Ellis to furnish a report to Government, detailing the special precautions taken by him to secure the personal safety of His Excellency the Viceroy

The body of His Excellency the Viceroy is being conveyed to Calcutta by Her Majesty's ship *Glasgow* The steamer *Scotia* was despatched direct from Port Blair with Mr Aitchison, Foreign Secretary, and Major Taylor, Aide-de-Camp, to convey intelligence of the mournful event to Lord Napier the Governor of Madras The steamer *Nemesis* was sent to False Point to inform His Honor the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, and the *Dacca* returned to telegraph from Saugor Island news of this great public calamity to the Supreme Government in Calcutta, and to the Governors of Madras and Bombay"

The Foreign Secretary went off to Madras to bring up Lord Napier and Ettrick, as the senior Governor in India, to officiate as Viceroy, and pending his arrival Sir John Strachey, the senior

Member of Council, carried on the Government, as acting Viceroy for a few days The Lieutenant-Governor was at the time at the mouth of the Hooghly on his way to Orissa to meet Lord Mayo there on hearing the news he at once returned to the Presidency No one who was in Calcutta at the time (as I was) can forget how as Sir G Campbell wrote here as everywhere else in India the social grief and feeling of public loss were overwhelming the intensity of that feeling and the greatness of the loss to India can hardly be depicted " The funeral arrangements were all carried out with impressive ceremonial The late Viceroy's remains were brought up the river in H M S *Daphne* and landed on the 17th February at Garden Reach whence the procession started and advanced over the Hastings Bridge to the Strand Road The route up to Government House was lined with troops on both sides At the grass plot, where Lord Napier of Magdala's statue now is opposite Prinsep's *ghat* the European residents in Calcutta were assembled (divided into representative bodies associations services groups) and joined in with the procession in regular order Minute guns were fired in the compound of Government House as the procession filed through from west to east The coffin was taken up into the Throne Room and for two days the 19th and 20th February the body lay in state guarded night and day and crowds of visitors passed by it to pay their last respects At 7 A M on the 21st February a funeral service was performed by the Lord Bishop of Calcutta on the north Grand staircase of Government House over the coffin which was then taken on board H M S. *Daphne* and *Glasgow* and despatched to Ireland according to Lord Mayo's special directions in his will The official record testify to the inexpressible grief caused by this irreparable loss this calamitous event" this most melancholy catastrophe and Her Majesty the Queen sent the following message

"The Queen has been deeply affected by the intelligence of the deplorable calamity which has so suddenly deprived all classes of her subjects in India of the able vigilant and impartial rule of one who so faithfully represented her as Viceroy of her Eastern Empire Her Majesty feels that she has indeed lost a devoted servant and a loyal subject in whom she reposed the fullest confidence To Lady Mayo the loss must be irreparable and the Queen heartily sympathises with her under the terrible blow

The murderer was tried at the Andamans by the Superintendent of the Settlement, General Stewart (afterwards Sir Donald Stewart, Commander-in-Chief in India and Field Marshal) and the judicial proceedings were, according to law, forwarded to the High Court at Calcutta for confirmation of the sentence It was said at the time that there was some petty irregularity in the proceedings, which the Judges desired to have revised, but there were in authority Statesmen who were not disposed to discuss niceties of procedure in such a case of proved and confessed guilt, and the death sentence was duly carried out at the Andamans on the 11th March. Searching inquiry was made into the antecedents of the murderer He was ascertained to be an Afghan or Pathan of the Khyber country, a man probably devoid of religious feeling, a mountaineer of a race habituated to deeds of violence He had fled from his own country as the result of bloodfeuds, was transported for assassinating in British territory a man of the opposite faction, and was then put to menial work with sharp instruments, in a climate and condition most abhorrent to one of his race and temperament His antecedents and position were such that it was not necessary to seek very far for the motives and the means of the murder Still, careful and full inquiry was instituted in order to ascertain whether he might possibly have received any communications from India, or might in any degree have been a political tool It was found that there was no trace whatever of anything of the kind, and the murderer's latest communications were with his relatives on the frontier, and referred only to his fields and to his wife, and the last news of murders committed by one faction or another

Some personal experiences

Sir G Campbell's personal relations to the Viceroys and experiences are thus related in his Memoirs —"Whatever his (the murderer's) motives, his knife removed a most excellent Viceroy, a true friend of the people, and an able, conscientious, hardworking man That act very materially changed the course of our policy in India And to me in particular, Lord Mayo's death was a turning point in the administration which I was carrying out in Bengal Afterwards I worked under very different circumstances For a time, however, while Lord Napier ruled, he was entirely sympathetic He and Lady Napier were socially charming, and, in public matters, Lord Napier was all I could desire, and supported me as thoroughly as Lord Mayo There was in those

days in Calcutta a feeling of personal shock. It was remarked as a curious feature in my position that within a very short time both the one man above me in rank and the next below me the Chief Justice had been struck down by assassins and some people seemed to think that I might well take some precautions I thought it better however not to let any appearance of disturbance be observed and took my morning walks as usual without protection I was convinced that the 2 assassinations were only an unhappy coincidence Once only a little later I was a good deal startled I was awoke by a wild man cutting capers and shrieking in my very bed room and hastily calling to mind the lessons of my first master Williams of Badaon I caught up a pillow and as soon as possible substituted a chair used as a shield legs to the enemy Assistance soon arrived, and then it turned out that it was only a madman who had walked quietly past the sentries as if he were a servant of the house and had somehow found his way to my bed room So I said nothing about the affair

The Census of [illegible]

The Census of all India had been postponed owing to financial exigencies, but it was eventually taken in Bengal during the cold weather of 1871-72 i.e. January and February 1872 not on one and the same day but in each district and Division as nearly simultaneously as possible to a great extent on the night of 25th January It was very successfully carried out beyond all expectation The result was to revolutionize the ideas previously held as to the number of the population in Bengal and as to its distribution in different districts race and religions This result altered also all previous calculations as to incidence of taxation consumption of salt &c The information required in the return was carefully limited by Sir G Campbell to what was considered really necessary for practical purposes and attainable The names castes and professions of all heads of houses and adult males were recorded while the women and children in each house were numbered—not named the caste and profession of the head of the family being sufficient to denote that of the family Religion also was asked and adults or grown persons were distinguished from children under 12 These were the main points shown while it was also endeavoured to elicit the numbers of schoolboys, of blind persons deaf persons insane persons lepers and the like

Mr H. Beverley, I C S the Inspector General of Assurances, was selected as the most proper officer to supervise the Census arrangements from their commencement to their close

To facilitate operations, and to prevent any complications which might possibly attend the employment of an unpaid agency a brief Act XI (B C) of 1871 was passed, authorizing the local officers to appoint enumerators, and providing certain penalties for their misconduct or neglect The Act invested the enumerators so selected with the power to collect the required information, making refusal to answer their questions on such points a penal offence. It also empowered Magistrates, under certain restrictions, to call for assistance in the matter from landholders or their agents

The agency employed in the enumeration of the people was chosen as far as possible from among the people The Census was thus virtually effected by the people In Assam and Bihar indeed the enumeration was carried out through the indigenous fiscal establishments of the country, but in Bengal it was for the most part taken by indigenous agencies or private individuals owning no official allegiance to Government

Very much was elicited by the Census and was confirmed by later inquiries regarding the various indigenous agencies still found existing in the country, which were utilized as far as possible Old institutions, officially supposed to be long ago dead and gone, were still found to survive in many places, and rural agencies, condemned long since, were proved to exist in several parts of the country and afforded much assistance Many private individuals also accepted office as unpaid enumerators and rendered very useful service The Government servants of the police and registration departments, school-masters and the like, largely contributed to the result as a supervising agency

It was hardly to be expected that the first attempt to carry out a Census in Bengal would be accomplished without exciting alarm in the minds of the people The most absurd rumours got abroad But, as the people were brought into contact with the Census officials, they gathered more and more of the true object in view, and many of them finally learned to laugh at their own fears As a rule, there was no real opposition whatever in one place only was there any serious outbreak The most prevalent ideas, and those which

took deepest root in the minds of the people were the anticipation of increased taxation and compulsory emigration. No general dissatisfaction, however existed and any passive resistance that may have been made was purely local and easily overcome

The details were, Sir G Campbell considered sufficiently ample and sufficiently accurate His own feelings were he confessed very much those expressed by more than one district officer and entertained he believed by many more viz. that they began by doubting whether the returns would be worth the paper on which they were written, and ended by thinking them wonderfully good and trustworthy

The total area of Bengal and Assam including the Tributary States, was found to be 248 231 square miles with an aggregate population of 66 856 859 souls thus—

Province	Area in square miles	Total population	Average number of persons to the square mile
Bengal	85 483	36 769 735	430
Bihar	42 417	19 736 101	465
Orissa	23 901	4 317 999	181
Chota Nagpur	43 901	3 825 571	87
Assam	35 130	2 207,453	63
Waste and country not censused	17 399		
The entire territory under the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal	248 231	66 856 859	269

Of the 17 399 square miles of wild and sparsely inhabited country of which no Census was taken 8 343 represented the wild portion of Lakhimpur 5 341 the Sundarbans and 3 715 the Cachar hills The areas of large rivers were excluded

In all the central and western districts including the tributary states of Orissa and Chota Nagpur the Census was fully carried out but it was not completely effected in some of the eastern

border districts, where there were political difficulties The Chittagong Hill Tracts and Garo hills (so far as they owned British allegiance) being the scene of war or uneasiness, a full Census could not be taken Some of the Assam tribes beyond the ordinary land revenue settlement were not counted, and especially in the farthest district of Upper Assam (Lakhimpur) considerable tracts of country marked as British territory and inhabited by tribes owning a theoretical allegiance, but in practice not very directly ruled, were omitted Owing to administrative accidents the *Tarai* under the Darjeeling hills and the adjoining Bhutan Duars (ceded by Bhutan after the late war) were not properly counted Sikhim, Hill Tippera, and the Nagas and quasi-independent tribes of Assam were neither counted nor estimated, because, though within our political system, they were not administered by us, and for the most part had not been explored Bhutan and the Himalayan tribes to the east were wholly and entirely independent.

Altogether, under direct and indirect British administration, the population of Bengal amounted in round numbers to 67 millions, of this total, 2 millions were taken as the population of the Tributary States, in which the Rajas and Chiefs exercised jurisdiction, subject in great matters to British Courts and officers Nearly 1,300,000 were in the Orissa Tributary *Mahals*, 400,000 in those of Chota Nagpur, and the remaining 300,000 represented the tribes on the eastern frontier imperfectly counted This left 65 millions under direct British administration

The Bengal provinces comprised 200,938 villages, townships or communes The people resided in 11,383,498 houses The average area of the lands of each commune was 1 00 square mile and the average number of souls to each commune was 325 55 The average number of souls to each house was 5 74, or rather more than 5½ The total number of Hindus in Bengal and Assam was returned as 42,674,361, and that of Muhammadans at 20,664,775 The vast majority of the latter, namely, 17½ millions, were in Lower Bengal

There were altogether in Bengal 19,857 Europeans of all nations, of whom 11,324 were English, 3,631 Irish, and 2,356 Scotch There were 360 Frenchmen, and 354 Germans The American population was 2,649, the African 83, and the Australasian 19 Altogether the non-Asiatics in Bengal numbered 22,608

Excluding Hill Tippera and the Naga and Garo Hills in which the mere numbers of the inhabitants were estimated without distinction of sex the population of Bengal was divided into 33 398 605 males and 33 274 740 females.

The Census of Calcutta was effected under the superintendence of the City Municipality The returns of the population were believed not to be trustworthy However the population of Calcutta was taken to be at least as follows —

Calcutta	447 601
The suburban municipality	257 149
The further suburbs known as the north and south suburban towns	89 895
Howrah on the opposite side of the river	97 784
	892 429

From a financial point of view the Census was extraordinarily successful The total charges connected with it aggregated £21 600 For a population of 67 millions this was equivalent to a charge of about one farthing per head

Port Canning

Port Canning was finally closed in 1871 72 and the establishments withdrawn. During the 2 previous years only 2 vessels had visited it,—and they had been driven there unwillingly by stress of weather —while the maintenance of the Port and preventive establishment cost Government some thousands of pounds a year The town of Port Canning was almost entirely deserted as a place of trade After the closure of the Port there were no complaints from the people or traders of Calcutta or foreign merchants nor was there any reason to fear that the closing of the Matla or Port Canning harbour would cause any loss or inconvenience. The new Port Canning Company who owned considerable properties in the almost deserted town of Canning and had lands in the neighbourhood having succeeded to some of the property of the insolvent Company protested but Government did not feel warranted in taking any action on the protest.

Policy of governing more actively

The great feature of Sir G Campbell's policy was his intention to govern more actively and he explained fully the sense in which he used the phrase To govern more actively meant to use the power and influence of the executive

more actively and decidedly in promoting and, if need be, compelling the honest performance by each class of the obligations which undoubtedly attach to it by law or otherwise, but which are too often evaded in practice, and to apply remedies by legislation or executive action for those defects and wants which a thorough knowledge of facts may bring to light.' With this view he set out to seek information in regard to the country and the people of all degrees, and thus obtain the means of elaborating any measures which might seem to be required with greater confidence than when we are ignorant of very much that we ought to know. By the system of non-interference he means the practice of not seeking to obtain detailed information, and of deeming it enough to set up Courts of Justice, to keep the peace, and to dispose of matters which forced themselves on the attention of Government. The Lieutenant-Governor has often felt and he apprehends that others must have often felt how difficult it is to do justice to the country or to particular tracts—how impossible it must be to lay Bengal administrative questions fully before the Government of India—when the statistics of Bengal districts were and are so incomplete. As an illustration of what the Lieutenant-Governor means, it may be mentioned that we had no reliable information—even approximate—regarding the area of land under cultivation, the prevailing rent-rates, or the breadth sown with the different crops. We do not know what districts produce more food than they consume, what districts hoard food, and what districts export food. At present, if a famine were to occur, in one part of Bengal, the Government could not tell from whence the deficiency of the famine tract could best be supplied. Less than 2 years ago, when the Government of India had before it the Sone Canal scheme, the revenue officers of Bihar were reluctantly obliged to confess that they could give no statistics of the area under the plough, of the irrigated lands, of the different crops, over the tract which was to be watered by the proposed canal. The Supreme Government had therefore to decide upon undertaking the Sone Canal without any of the information which is available in such detail from other parts of India. In regard to the population of the country and of the several districts, the Government of Bengal was very much in the dark. Houses had been counted, or were supposed to be counted, in some sort of way in most districts, at

different times during the last 30 years But it was only during t present year that a Census of Bengal was undertaken under t orders of the Indian and the Home Governments.

At the same time Mr Campbell would specially wish to gua himself against the supposition that he means to claim for the prese Government the ability to obtain complete information or to sugge that previous Governments have failed to seek information It merely a question of degree. He believes that his predecesso had not sufficient machinery to obtain all the information they wou have desired and that a somewhat excessive reliance on the efficac of a permanent settlement and a judicial machinery had at or time led some high authorities to think detailed information les necessary in Bengal than in other parts of India. He believes th one great misfortune and some other difficulties attributable in som degree to a lack of knowledge had convinced both the Governmer of India and Her Majesty s Government—he may say succes iv Governments—that Bengal could not be safely governed with du regard to the lives and the happiness of the people without a mor intimate knowledge of them and their affairs and he has con sidered it to be his duty and his function to seek to obtain more in formation than we have hitherto possessed In that view he think he may assert that he had the fullest concurrence and support of th late Lord Mayo and the members of the Government of India He believes that he only sought to follow the course marked out fo him by superior authority In doing so he neither claims any specia credit for himself nor would throw the smallest imputation of remiss ness on the very able men to whom he feels himself but an unworthy successor The present Lieutenant Governor only humbly under takes to the best of his power that particular phase in the ad ministration which the course of events has made as it seems to him, imperative on any Government of Bengal at the present time

"So far then as it is proposed to make any change in the policy which has been pursued in Bengal the change may be described as being in its present stage mainly a change from a less seeking of information to a greater seeking of information and not a change in the positive principles of Government.'

... with his policy of 'governing more actively "

Sir G Campbell set himself to "obtain information on matters on which it is of the first importance that Government should be well-informed" in one word "statistics" The Census had been admittedly a statistical work, but, without additional establishments, he refrained from aiming at statistics on a very large scale He expressed himself as being "very anxious to get some of the agricultural statistics in which we were so sadly deficient and which were notably wanted with reference to the great irrigation works which we had undertaken. But he felt that he must be moderate in the demands which he made from *all* districts, and for the present he purposed to confine his arrangements for more detailed agricultural statistics to 4 specimen districts in different parts of the country in which separate establishments were being organised for the purpose Similarly, in regard to vital statistics, despairing of soon getting reliable figures for the whole country, he arranged to select in connection with the Census arrangements certain limited specimen areas of town and country in each district in which the Census had been taken with more than ordinary care, and to obtain from these vital returns for which special arrangements were in progress"

Statistics

At the same time arrangements were commenced for the collection and preparation of statistics of a more general character, which, it was hoped, would fructify when sufficient establishments were available

In accordance with the same policy, he ordered the submission of a weekly return of the agricultural prospects, the rainfall, and the state of the weather and the crops from each district, so that proper attention should be paid to the subject

Tbe registration of births and deaths was confined to certain selected areas, rural and urban, and Sir G Campbell was satisfied with the results obtained In respect of agricultural statistics 4 Deputy Collectors were appointed to acquire them from the 4 specimen districts of Birbhum, Jessore, Shahabad and Rangpur 'some valuable reports were received, and some district statistical accounts were specially supplied by the district and subdivisional officers A special Commission was also appointed to enquire into the trade and production of jute, the greatest commercial staple of Bengal in some areas an educational Census was taken the returns filed under

the Road Cess Act supplied information of the registration of tenures and landed property reports of much interest on particular agricultural products such as cotton safflower tobacco and tea were called for and to supervise the whole organisation a separate Statistical branch of the Secretariat was established in charge of an Assistant Secretary The condition of the *raiyats* was a subject which Sir G Campbell considered himself specially charged to watch over and care for and the main end and object of all his measures and inquiries was he stated to approach the solution of this one great question In the same connection he was profoundly convinced of the great importance of obtaining an adequate knowledge of the products of the country and was much inclined to favour the idea of an economic survey As a first step he thought it well to provide a place in which specimens of the economic, vegetable and other products of the country might be placed and made accessible to the public and with this view he had adapted and fixed up a building in the heart of the business portion of Calcutta, near the N W corner of Dalhousie Square and the necessary arrangement undertaken for establishing an Economic Museum under a Central Committee in Calcutta in correspondence with District Committee It was duly opened and for some years had but a languishing existence The economic section now forms an annexe to the Indian Museum and has taken the place which Sir G Campbell desired for it

Economic Museum.

It was in furtherance of the policy of developing Self Government to accompany local taxation that Sir G Campbell embarked on a scheme of legislation for Municipalities He had always believed that while on the one hand the task of really governing India down to the villages and the people is too great for the British Government and on the other anything like national political freedom is inconsistent with a foreign rule we may best supplement our own deficiencies and give the people that measure of self government and local freedom to which both their old tradition and their modern education alike point by giving to towns and restoring to villages some sort of Municipal or communal form of self government As the Municipal law of the province was contained in six Acts he thought it very desirable to consolidate and systematise the whole

The Municipal Bill of 1872 vetoed.

law on the subject, ranging Municipalities in different classes, and prescribing a suitable constitution for each, in all of which the element of Self-Government might be largely infused

In his speech to the Council at the opening of the Legislative Session in December 1871 Sir George Campbell announced his intention to amend and consolidate the law relating to *Mufassal* Municipalities, a subject which he considered to be of the most extreme importance He was, he said, "a great believer in Local Self-Government Under free constitutions nothing tended so much to keep the people free, and under constitutions which were not politically free nothing did so much to help the people to some of the benefits of freedom, as decentralized local municipalities in all parts of the country In such a country nothing so much tended to prepare the people for a measure of gradual freedom—nothing so much emancipated them from the burden of despotic rule, as the constitution of free municipalities His Honor was most anxious that the Council should do all in their power to create municipalities not only legally, but in fact and in truth to make them, *boná fide*, as far as possible, self-governing It is one of the main objects—he might say *the* main object—of the Bill which the Hon'ble Member would shortly explain to the Council, to foster those self-governing institutions It might be doubtful whether these wonderful indigenous institutions, so well known in other parts of India, these little republics, these village communities, which remained intact when Empire after Empire fell to pieces, whether they ever existed to any very large extent in Bengal it might be doubtful whether there were any such institutions so perfect here as there were elsewhere, but, though the people of Bengal have not the same experience of these institutions as the people of some other parts of the country, he believed that they are the most advanced in point of modern education and therefore his sanguine hope was that they are more prepared to accept municipal institutions as they are now constituted on western models The efforts of Government should therefore be to create self-acting municipalities where they do not now exist The education which had been given to the upper and middle classes of this country might or might not be the best in system, but His Honor thought that it had really created a very intelligent class of men—a class in many respects capable of

self-government and he hoped and trusted they would find in various parts of the country many enlightened and public-spirited men who would devote themselves to the good of the country in making the most of these self-governing institutions to which he had alluded.'

A Bill was accordingly introduced into Council on the 9th December 1871 which after much manipulation passed the Bengal Council on the 29th July 1872 It established various classes of Municipalities cities towns and rural villages and revised the taxes which might be levied in each class with a view to regulate more exactly their weight and incidence and considerably to extend the scope and objects of taxation It was made compulsory on Municipalities to provide for police roads and education under certain limitations, and voluntary objects of expenditure were made legal within moderate maxima, a strict maximum limit of taxation being laid down for each class of Municipality The system of election was not included in the law but was to be admissible under rules framed under it. Sir G Campbell s desire was to make the Municipal Bill meet and fit into the Road Cess Act, so that they supplemented by separate enactments for embankments and drainage should form together a complete and as far as might be final scheme of local Government and self-taxation by dealing with the questions of cesses for roads and education he hoped to leave scope for voluntary expansions in such a way as to avoid if possible the imposition of any further local cesses

The Bill was vetoed by the Governor General on the 30th January 1873 The principal reasons recorded by His Excellency were that the measure was calculated to increase municipal taxation in Bengal and such increase was unnecessary and inexpedient at the time that His Excellency was unable to assent to those portions of the Bill which allowed the provision of elementary education to be made obligatory upon first and second class Municipalities (i e on cities and towns as distinguished from villages) that he also objected to a provision enabling Town Municipalities to give relief to the poor in time of exceptional scarcity and distress that I thought the time had not come when it was desirable to create the machinery for the government of villages proposed in the Bill

Seeing how broad was the principal ground on which the Viceroy

had vetoed the Municipal Bill, and how difficult it would be to devise any new municipal system which might not give rise to apprehensions of increased taxation, resulting from increased activity and extension of the system, if not from increased incidence of taxation, seeing also that he had other reforms in hand which would give his Government much occupation, Sir G Campbell came to the conclusion that it was not expedient that he should then make another attempt to consolidate and reform the Municipal law of Bengal, and he therefore announced to his Council that he abandoned that task for the present, and would probably leave it to his successors

The Bill had not been a contentious one, and he and his Government were much astonished when it was thus vetoed In after years he wrote "Lord Northbrook's dread of taxation wrecked our Municipal Bill, and the progress of local Government in Bengal, I may almost say in India, was thrown back many years There was nothing for it but to abandon the hope of doing much in that direction And I must say that with that hope went also the hope of doing much more in the way of reform in any direction under Lord Northbrook's *regime*"

The Viceroy had, when vetoing the Municipal Bill, suggested that in some minor points improvements might be introduced in the Bengal municipal law He stated his belief that under Act VI (B C) of 1868 and the District Road Cess Act of 1871, sufficient powers then existed for the introduction into Bengal of a system under which municipal and local affairs might gradually come to be administered by bodies in which the people were represented, and said that he would favourably consider any proposal which the Legislative Council of Bengal might make to amend Act III (B C) of 1864 in the same direction It was also, in His Excellency's opinion, desirable to amend the present law so as to enable Municipalities, under Acts III (B C) of 1864 and VI (B C) of 1868, voluntarily to contribute in aid of education within their districts

A short Bill was accordingly brought into the Council and passed on the 5th April 1873 as Act II (B C) This Act enabled Government to provide for the election by the rate payers, and rotation, of Municipal Commissioners in the larger towns as well as to establish and maintain schools, after providing for the police, conservancy, and

ordinary town purposes medical relief and vaccination. The Serampore Municipality was the first to try the elective system and a year later it was granted to Krishnagar

It may be mentioned here that on the 11th October 1872 the Viceroy was pleased on the representation of the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal, to permit the title of Honorable to be borne by the Members of His Honor's Legislative Council

Primary Fducation received a great impetus from Sir G Campbell

Primary Education.

The Government of Bengal had first directed its attention to this subject some 10 or 12 years previously and begun a system of instituting or aiding village *pathsalas* at a cost of Rs 5 a month for each school A second system of circle schools had also been tried whereby 4 *pathsalas* were formed into one circle under a trained teacher whose business was to teach at each *pathsala* in turn and to direct the teaching of the indigenous schoolmasters The Government *pathsala* system had been partially worked in 5 or 6 districts and the circle school system in 1 or 2 more when further funds were not available and the spread of Government primary schools was stopped The Government of India was unable to grant further funds but directed that money saved from higher education should be devoted to primary schools and suggested that funds for village schools might be raised by local taxation as in other parts of India Then came all the discussion previously mentioned which resulted in no educational cess being imposed on the land and the *pathsala* system not being extended In August 1871 the Secretary of State left the question of providing primary education for the general body of the population to the unfettered discretion of the Lieutenant Governor Thus on the 31st March 1872 there were in Bengal only 451 primary schools aided by Government with only 64 779 boys Until the beginning of 1872 3 the budget grant stood at about Rs. 1 30 000 a year Up to July 1872 the Lieutenant Governor had been engaged in the Municipal Bill one object of which was to provide for primary education in the several classes of Municipalities to be formed under the Bill In September and October of that year Sir G Campbell issued from Hazaribagh several Resolutions for the purpose of largely reorganizing the work of the Education Department, (by rearranging the circles of inspection &c) and in one of these he wrote

"The great object of the Government now is to extend primary education among the masses of the people. The Lieutenant Governor hopes that when certain measures now in progress, if the Municipal Bill becomes law, many villages will establish primary schools aided by Government funds; and he is prepared to take advantage of the favourable state of the Bengal finances to make a considerable additional allotment for that purpose in addition to the new grant provided for in the budget of the present year. It seems to His Honor that this scheme can only be carried out by the influence and aid of the district authorities, and that this, the most important branch of education, must of necessity be placed under their superintendence."

With a view then to making a real and substantial attempt to establish a good system of primary education of the simplest character, Sir G. Campbell put the grants for education and especially for primary education under the local officers and specially allotted 4 *lakhs* from the provincial savings, to be used in developing primary education in addition to the other grants already made for the same purpose, 1 *lakh* to be spent in 1872-3 and the other 3 *lakhs* in 1873-4. The total allotment for primary education was to stand at Rs. 5,30,000 a year. It was calculated that at an average of Rs. 40 to Rs. 50 per school the 3 *lakhs* would suffice to establish 6000 to 7000 schools. The scope and intention of the measure will appear from the following extracts from a Resolution of the 30th September 1872:—

"The Lieutenant-Governor hopes that by the end of 1873-74 the new municipal system will be so far established that a considerable portion of the burden now assumed by Government may be taken over by the Municipalities of considerable and prosperous villages, and that Town Municipalities will be able to support or render self-supporting some of the schools of a higher class which now absorb a large share of the educational grant. In this way Government money, in addition to that already saved, will be made available for poorer and more backward places.

* * * * * * *

"The Lieutenant-Governor's wish is that the money now granted should be used to encourage and develop in rural villages proper indigenous education, that is, reading, writing, arithmetic in the real indigenous language and character of each province. He would not, as a rule, think it necessary to employ highly trained masters o[n con]siderable salaries. He would rather give money as a grant[-in-aid to] men of the purely indigenous schoolmaster class, provided [they set] up in a place where it is required, and among a population c

and labourers, a school efficient *according* to native standards, and submits it to inspection and examination. *Perhaps* for such purposes an allowance of Rs. 2 or 3 *per mensem* will in many cases suffice, more especially in places where the village or landlord or other party interested is willing to make up the remainder of the ordinary Rs 5/ *pathsala* grant. Recently the Lieutenant Governor has sanctioned four 2½ Rs. *pathsala* grants in Tippera on the application of a *zamindar* who has agreed to give the other 2½ Rs. for each school himself. It is hoped that in all wards estates the Court of Wards will be able to double any share of the present grant that may be allotted for schools in these estates Where no such aid is available, and where the people are poor and backward, a larger Government grant may be given; but no grant to a village school is to exceed Rs. 5/ *per mensem* With such a basis, and some receipts from fees or gratuities, a village school will be established Those places should be selected where the need is greatest, and where the people are ready to help themselves to some extent; places already provided for being left to themselves for the present, or only assisted in a moderate degree on condition of inspection and improved methods. In places where, though immediate assistance is not available, a municipal organization may be shortly expected, the maximum of Rs. 5/ *per mensem* may be given, provided the leading men promise as far as they can to contribute a share when a Municipality is constituted. But of all things must be avoided a grant which may be used to turn out clerks and attorneys; education of that kind is separately provided for

' The only languages to be taught in *pathsalas* should be Bengali, Hindi Assamese and Oorya, in their respective provinces, and the aboriginal languages in some of the districts where there is a large aboriginal population using their languages, as the Kols of Chota Nagpur the Sonthals of the Sonthal *Parganas* the Khas as of the Khasia hills, the Khamtis, Cacharis, and others in Assam and the Lepchas of Darjeeling

" Where Muhammadans preponderate in the population the Lieutenant Governor will not object to the grant to their *maktabs* of aid similar to that officer given to the *pathsalas* or common village schools, provided a useful primary education is really given. But the impression the Lieutenant Governor has derived from all he has seen of many indigenous *pathsalas* in such districts is, that the lower classes of the Muhammadans resort much more freely to the common vernacular schools than their higher classes do to the English schools; and he considers that it is better for all parties that they should continue to do so

" Newly appointed teachers of village schools, whether *gurus* or

Muhammadans, should be attached for some months to training classes at the district or sub-divisional head-quarters, either before they set up their schools or at the next rice-sowing season, or at such convenient opportunities as may offer themselves Village school-masters when under instruction at training classes will be allowed to draw the Government grant just as if they were present with their school

"The Lieutenant-Governor is fully aware that to people who see only the expensive Government and aided schools in Bengal towns, or to those who know the Government village schools of some other parts of India, it may seem a sanguine view to hope that any system of rural education can be successfully based upon Government monthly grants of only Rs 5, 4, and 3 *per mensem* to each school He is aware that in western and central India the Government wages of village schoolmasters range from Rs 8 to Rs 25 a month, while in northern India there are it is believed, few village school-masters who draw less than Rs 8 a month from Government But Mr Campbell believes that in most districts of Bengal, Bihar, and Orissa, though unhappily too rare in so great populations, there are still scores, if not hundreds, of petty village school-masters who keep village schools of 15 to 30 boys and girls, and who maintain themselves and their families from the fees, in money or in kind, which the parents may be able to afford If a boy's father is well-to-do, he gives the *guru* 2, 3, or 4 annas a month, if he is poor, he gives one anna or a couple of *seers* of rice a month Boys of very poor parents or orphans are often taught by the *guru* without any fee This is the kind of educational agency Government finds ready to its hand in Bengal villages, these are the schools which ordinary villagers are accustomed to, and for which they have a regard One of these *gurus* would certainly find his position immensely improved by a Government or Municipal grant of Rs 30, 40, or 50 a year * * * * * *

"What is wanted is to teach ordinary village boys enough to enable them to take care of their own interests in their own station of life, as petty shop-keepers, small land-holders, *raiyats*, handicraftsmen, weavers, village headmen, boatmen, fishermen, and what not It is beyond all things desirable not to impart at village schools that kind of teaching which, in a transition state of society, might induce boys to think themselves above manual labor or ordinary village work * *

"The only restrictions he would insist upon are that not more than Rs 5 *per mensem* of public money should be given to any one school, that the vernacular only is taught in any school receiving a *pathsala* grant, that every *pathsala* is open to inspection and sends in such simple quarterly statements as may be required, and that any grant is liable to suspension or withdrawal if the school is not properly kept up

crime and prevention of future crime were attained, or if there were defects in this respect, devise a remedy In the same Minute Sir G Campbell expressed his opinion that manufactures and sanitary considerations had been too *exclusively regarded* that the judicial side of the jail question (i e the penal effect of imprisonment and its concomitants) had been more or less lost sight of that the punishment of short term prisoners *was not sufficiently stinging*, that, in sub-divisional lock-ups *especially* there was no punishment except restraint that skilled workmen were put on labour which was more profitable than penal that educated prisoners, whatever their crimes, were promoted to easy places of trust that prisons were generally made too comfortable and that classification scarcely existed. On another occasion he noted with dissatisfaction the laxity of discipline among the paid warders and in a third Minute he condemned the existing jails as totally unsuited to any proper system of classification describing a Bengal jail as a complete liberty-hall he disapproved of the hiring-out of prisoners to municipalities and private persons the insufficient separation of under-trial prisoners from those under sentence and the inadequacy of the existing guards to prevent outbreaks and he expressed his general policy as follows –

I think that upon the whole the best course will be to push on rapidly the central jails now in course of construction; to employ a large number of prisoners on these jails and on the canal works at Dehri and to do what we can to make safe and capable of discipline the Alipore jail which is in fact a great central jail without any of the appliances of a central jail. The arrangement proposed would withdraw a large number of prisoners from the ordinary jails, and I would then take advantage of the reduction of numbers to make the existing jails, or as many of them as are in any way tolerable, serve our purpose for the present as well as may be, instead of attempting to build new fashioned jails all over the country at once. With reduced numbers we may at any rate provide separate wards for under trial prisoners, and perhaps for 1 or 2 other classes whom it is desirable to keep separate.

Defects existed also in the arrangements of the jails themselves and after having seen a good many of the jails in Bengal Sir G Campbell was more than ever convinced of the great difficulties that existed for the segregation of the several classes of prisoners as well as of prisoners under trial from convicted prisoners Partitions had been so universally cleared away and the enclosures had been so

generally thrown into one, and all attempt at separation of prisoners in separate yards so completely abandoned, that, to introduce anything like the regular system prevailing in other provinces in India and other countries, the work would have had to be entered on afresh The large commissions, moreover, allowed to jailors had led them to consider their charges as really manufacturing establishments and prisoners as people to be indulged so long as they kept the manufacture going It also appeared that extramural labour had been allowed, whenever it was profitable, by prisoners being hired out to municipalities and even to private persons These practices were stopped in all cases except where extramural employment of this kind had been specially sanctioned

Where there was an attempt to separate under-trial from convicted prisoners, the common practice had been to keep the under-trial and non-labouring prisoners together These non-labouring prisoners were for the most part men confined as notorious bad-characters in default of security, and were certainly the worst companions for under-trial or any other prisoners It was therefore absolutely necessary that immediate arrangements should be made to keep the under-trial prisoners entirely separate It further did not appear that in working hours the convicted prisoners were classified with any reference whatever to their offences, they were only arranged with reference to their working capacities At night they were necessarily locked up in separate barracks, and some attempt at classification sometimes was or might be made

After full and careful consideration of the whole matter, it was decided to push on rapidly the central jails then in course of construction, and to carry out the general policy above described

Sir G Campbell also placed the district jails immediately under the control of the district Magistrates who had previously been, in common with other civil officers, only in the position of official visitors This measure was soon attended with important and useful results, one being that it placed both the jail and police departments under one head, thus putting a stop to many disputes which had hitherto somewhat frequently arisen

The sanitary question in jails was the most difficult of all. Looking to the terrible mortality that had prevailed in Indian jails,

scheme. The educational officers themselves, at first very little inclined to take a hopeful view of the plan now admit that it has so far succeeded. The few objectors are only those who are wedded to the old system by which a few profited at the expense of the many"

Higher Education.

A definite policy was also pursued by Sir G Campbell in respect of Higher Education The Government of India had in past years very earnestly drawn attention to the disproportionately large share of the Government educational funds enjoyed by the Bengal Colleges, and the Secretary of State had directed that full Government Colleges should not be maintained too close to one another when there was so much difficulty in providing funds for primary education Moreover Sir G Campbell wished to give effect to the intentions of the Calcutta University to introduce physical science more largely into its course by having physical and natural science taught at other Colleges Reductions were carried out in the Berhampore Krishnagar and Sanskrit Colleges which provoked some expressions of dissatisfaction among the upper and literate classes of Bengal Sir G Campbell's policy was to reduce the number of Colleges educating up to the highest point, concentrating in the remainder improved means of the highest education The reduced Colleges were not abolished but were still efficiently maintained to teach up to the point to which experience proved that the greatest demand existed i e up to the First Arts standard The Presidency College and the Hooghly College were specially strengthened and the construction of a new Presidency College was sanctioned Sir G Campbell was very far from wishing to discourage what was called high-class education. But he thought it would not be consistent with the duty which we owed to the mass of the people of this country that we should devote a wholly disproportionate sum to the higher class of education only Therefore if we were to do our duty that was to say apportion the sums at our disposal rateably and fairly between the higher class of education and the education of the masses, then we must subtract something from the sums devoted to higher education or by some means obtain the means of adding to our educational resources Certain memorials having been presented against Sir G Campbell's educational policy the Government of India supported it and showed that his measures were not in

antagonism to the policy of the Home Government or to the broad interests of the population of India The Secretary of State concurred with this view and cordially approved the steps taken by Sir G Campbell to give a more practical tone to education in Bengal 'The advance which has been made in the encouragement of the primary instruction of the people is also a subject for congratulation'

Educational Finance

Sir G Campbell felt the difficulty of providing funds for the permanent maintenance of the system of primary education, for the cost of which he had arranged for ? years He had understood the principle of local rating for education to have been sanctioned by the Secretary of State, but had thought it desirable to refrain from imposing a compulsory rate for education in the *mufassal* where the Road Cess was levied, and the Viceroy had refused his assent to provisions for imposing such an obligation on towns and for enabling rural communes voluntarily to raise funds for the purpose Thus the Bengal Government could have no rating for education at all

"It follows that these provinces are in exactly the same position as when the discussion first commenced, having no funds for primary education, unless they can be given from the general revenues The Lieutenant-Governor has, out of exceptional savings, made a small provision for primary schools during the present year But no such savings can be expected in coming years, and there has been no successful step made to meet permanently the difficulty that Bengal has no funds for establishing, aiding and maintaining primary schools for the 65 millions of its subjects"

Jails

The management of the Jails in Bengal was a subject which greatly occupied Sir George Campbell's thoughts The principles which he considered should guide the department were enumerated in various Minutes, and changes of a radical nature, resulting from the altered policy which he thought it right to adopt, were effected in jail administration Thus, in appointing Mr W L, Heeley, c s, a judicial officer of experience, to officiate as Inspector-General of Jails, a principal object which the Lieutenant-Governor had in view was that he should look into the subject from a judicial point of view, that is, ascertain whether the objects for which judicial sentences were passed viz the due punishment of

"In selecting existing *pathsalas* for grants, the Magistrate and the subdivisional officer would be guided by various considerations they would give some grants to old established *pathsalas* which were specially large and successful they would give some grants to *pathsalas* which were situate in large villages, but had heretofore been badly off owing to the poverty of the inhabitants they would give some grants to newly planted *pathsalas* of which the *gurus* were especially efficient and active. * * * The Magistrate and the subdivisional officer would select for the new *pathsalas* the largest villages unoccupied by any school. No *pathsala* grant would be given to any village which would not provide a house or hut of the ordinary kind used in the village for the reception of the school. When the villages were selected, the next question would be to find teachers. If possible, the Magistrate or subdivisional officer would choose men of the ordinary *gurumahasay* class or of the *miahji* class and a new school master should always be, if possible, a resident of the village or its neighbourhood.

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"It would be a condition of appointment of a new village school master and of any grant of the master of an existing school, that he should, if called upon, attend the normal class for a time, leaving a substitute in charge of the school.

"Pending the establishment of Municipalities, it will probably be best to establish a moderate number of schools here and there as examples all over the district, and to select a limited tract for a more full experiment.

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"When the system develops, when the rural Municipalities undertake schools with Government assistance, when the demands for and means of education increase, more money may be available, and we may attempt more schools. The object of the present grant is to make a beginning of mass education in the country and the Lieutenant Governor hopes to be assured that the money is well-spent."

At the same time, Sir G Campbell revised the scholarship rules and arranged a system of scholarships so as to enable clever and deserving boys to climb from the lowest to the highest stage Scholarships were for the first time awarded to primary schools. The various stages of schools were established so that 'the gifted son of a *raiyat* or labourer may become a distinguished engineer or physician or agriculturist or administrator of high degree or a Judge of the Highest Court" being educated thereto at the public expense through scholarships. At the same time great care was to be taken that the prizes held out to remarkable boys in primary schools were

quite exceptional, and that the mass of boys were not led to look beyond their own callings It was therefore very carefully provided that the subjects of examination in these primary schools should be confined to the simple subjects really sought by the mass of the people

The system of primary education thus introduced was afterwards generally acknowledged to have succeeded beyond the anticipations of the most sanguine By the end of 1873, the total grant for primary education had increased to nearly 8 *lakhs*, and 10,787 village schools, old and new, with 255,728 scholars had been brought under the Government scheme By the 31st March 1874 there were 12,229 primary schools and 303,437 pupils The new *pathsalas* were reported to vary greatly in their pretensions and efficiency, but the general standard aimed at was that laid down by Government, being confined for the most part to reading and writing in the vernaculars, with native arithmetic and accounts Where English arithmetic had crept in and gained a footing, it was said to be generally preferred Sir G Campbell thus wrote, at the end of 1873

"Village communities and individuals are invited to set up schools with Government assistance The plan is to grant to village school-masters, who maintain tolerably efficient schools in the native fashion and submit to a certain amount of inspection and control, a subsidy or grant-in-ald for schools of an adequate salary, but which, eked out by fees and customary emoluments, may enable them to live The grant is usually no more than from 2 to 3 or 4 Rs per month, say on an average 5, 6, or 7 shillings per month, or a capitation allowance amounting to about as much , and at this rate a little money goes a long way A certain sum has been allotted to each district, which the Magistrates and local Committees distribute to deserving school-masters who set up and maintain schools on these principles

"This scheme has succeeded beyond all expectation Both the school-masters and the people have received it with a sort of enthusiasm The people in districts which were supposed to be Bœotian, in respect of the absence not only of education but of all desire for education, have suddenly shown an avidity for the instruction offered to them which could not have been anticipated Decent school-masters are forthcoming in sufficient numbers to take up all the grants available, and the full number of schools of which our means admit have been already established in almost every district or very nearly so Both our officers and the native public fully admit and appreciate the success of the

and in none more than in some of those in Bengal, Sir G Campbell felt that it was inevitable that much should be sacrificed if it was necessary to do so in order to avoid such destruction of human life If it were a mere matter of sanitary rule as some people would have it believed if it could be secured that a jail built on sanitary principles would be healthy while one not so built was unhealthy Government might feel constrained to spend all their money on new jails and to take the consequences. The contrary was notoriously the case. He had known many jails native buildings and such like contrary to all the laws of sanitation comparatively healthy and he had known prisoners die like rotten sheep in the finest modern buildings. By care in various ways the general result might be improved but how to ensure perfectly healthy jails was not known. Under all these circumstances, he was not prepared to sacrifice every thing to a very doubtful sanitation The Government did what it could but for the time at any rate, it accepted a moderately excessive death rate, and secured a good amount of discipline and a moderate amount of labour for all prisoners and really severe punishment for a moderate proportion of them

The central jails then existing were the Presidency jail the Alipore jail and the European Penitentiary at Hazaribagh while other central jails were in course of construction at Bhagalpur Midnapore and Hazaribagh Sir G Campbell regarded the subject of jails as a very great and difficult work he did not claim that they had been made satisfactory or soon would be but that very great and beneficial improvements were being carried out in the *buildings and in the discipline and method of their administration*

Position of Magistrate-Collector subordination of the police.

Sir G Campbell found a system in force by which the Heads of Departments—Inspectors General and Director of Public Instruction—had in some respects exercised a large authority almost independent of Government control whereas he was anxious that district officers should not have too many masters and that the head of the district should control the local departments. He therefore introduced changes to make the Heads of Departments the agents and inspectors on the part of Government bound to aid counsel and guide local officers each in his own department, without exercising local authority over them and to criticise colla e

and compare local facts for the information of Government His policy with regard to the position of the Magistrate-Collectors must be stated in his own words It was his wish "to render the heads of districts, the Magistrate-Collectors, no longer the drudges of many departments and masters of none but in fact the general controlling authority over all departments in each district On no subject had he formed an opinion more deliberately The Orissa Famine Commission took this view and all that he had since thought and seen has confirmed Mr Campbell in the opinion which he then shared He might almost say that it was his belief that, all over India, the departments were ruining the empire Everywhere the same complaint was heard—in the Panjab and the N W provinces, as in Madras and Bombay—that the district officers were not what they were, that their power and their influence have gone from them There is less of such complaint in Bengal because there the days when such power and influence existed are so remote as to be almost lost to memory But in a country where, as has been explained, we have in fact asserted our authority less completely than anywhere else in India, and where the people of the remote interior are in a more native (so to express it) condition, the concentration of authority and the personal rule so consonant to oriental habits and feelings are, in the Lieutenant-Governor's opinion, even more required than elsewhere Departments are excellent servants, but, as he considers, very bad masters He has therefore striven to make the Magistrate-Collector of a great Bengal district, generally comprising 1½ to 2½ millions of inhabitants, the real executive chief and administrator of the tract of country committed to him, and supreme over every one and every thing, except the proceedings of the Courts of Justice As district Magistrate, he is also head of the department of criminal justice which is charged with the summary trial of small cases and the inquiry into greater cases previous to trial at Sessions, although he generally rather distributes and superintends this work than does a large share of it himself"

With regard to the subordination of the police to the Magistrate, he wrote in no less uncertain tone There was still a good deal of the old feeling in the police which gave rise to a longing for independence and occasional antagonism, while many Magistrates insufficiently exercised the powers which they really possessed, not feeling very sure of their ground Sir G Campbell aimed at making quite clear the thorough subordination of the police to the Magistrate for all and every purpose He wished to enable all capable

property The local police failed to obtain satisfaction so relations with the Daflas were broken off their passes were blockaded and measures to bring them to terms or punish them were carried out by a considerable force furnished by the Assam regiments But the matter passed out of the hands of the Lieutenant Governor on the formation of the separate Assam Administration.

Waste Lands.

The subject of the sale of Waste Lands came before Sir G Campbell and the history of the question may be briefly recapitulated here as it was for a long time one of much importance in Bengal. Lord Canning s Minute of 17th October 1861 laid down 3 main principles on which grants of waste lands were to be made in future. These were *first* that " in any case of application for such lands, they shall be granted in perpetuity as a heritable and transferable property, subject to no enhancement of land revenue assessment *second* that all prospective land revenue will be redeemable at the grantee s option by a payment in full when the grant is made, or at the grantee s option a sum may be paid as earnest at the rate of 10 per cent leaving the unpaid portion of the price of the grant, which will then be under hypothecation until the price is paid in full " and *third* that " there shall be no condition obliging the grantee to cultivate or clear any specific portion after grant within any specific time The minimum price for the fee simple was fixed at Rs 2 8-0 or 5 shillings per acre so that by paying 10 per cent of this, or 6*d* per acre a title was obtained Moreover many large tracts were obtained by speculation in anticipation of measurement for a merely nominal payment. A despatch from the Secretary of State subsequently required in addition to these provisions, that grants should be surveyed before sale and that all sales should be by auction to the highest bidders above a fixed upset price

There were besides these, other sets of waste lands rules, sanctioned at different times for the whole or parts of Bengal —viz rules for the grant of waste lands in the Sundarbans issued in 1863 rules for the grant of waste lands in Darjeeling dated 1859 rules for the sale of waste lands in the Assam and Dacca Divisions the Old Assam waste land lease rules of 1854 the new Assam settlement rules which left a wide discretion as to the terms on which waste land should be leased to *raiyats*

Unfortunately in granting waste lands many abuses were allowed to occur There was a great rush upon tea-planting, speculators bought upon credit Government wastes wherever they could get them and Government officers were so far carried away by the mania that they relaxed the rules as to surveying wastes before they were sold, and in other particulars It followed that large areas of wastes were sold to jobbers, who transferred them at a profit, or threw them up if they could not do that, while in many cases cultivated lands, not regularly settled, were sold as "Government waste lands" over the heads of the occupiers In other cases, lands beyond the British border in others again valuable forest-lands, were sold under the waste land rules Before Sir G Campbell came to Bengal attention had been directed to this matter, and in Chittagong especially mistakes had been recognized There had in more than one instance been risk of grave disturbance with frontier tribes on account of ill-judged sales of waste land in the occupation of border people To prevent complications Sir G Campbell published in August 1871 *ad interim* rules, and orders were passed that no more land should be sold revenue-free in perpetuity without the previous sanction of the Government of India, excepting any such small plots not exceeding 10 acres in extent as might be required for buildings or gardens

In March 1873 Sir G Campbell proposed new rules for leasing and for selling waste land, and recommended their immediate promulgation so that the tea industry might go on He at the same time suggested that a special enactment should be passed securing the rights of Government in waste lands, and giving legal effect to the rules which might be passed, and he pointed out that the only Waste Lands Act as yet passed by the Indian Legislature had operated to extinguish private rights, and to throw upon the public treasury the burden of compensating any right-holders who might make good their claims after sale had taken place The Government of India passed orders on the draft rules in August 1873 They held special legislation not to be necessary, they generally approved Sir G Campbell's rules, subject to certain alterations in detail, they directed that the Government law officers should be consulted as to the best way of securing the rights of Government, and as to the form of deeds-of-sale, and they directed that the rules should be arranged so as to keep the provisions which concerned purchasers

to had a sort of monopoly of high office and just as in England competition and selection by merit were very unpopular with the classes who had previously provided for their sons through patronage the present measure is unpopular with the upper 10 000 of Bengal whom the organs alluded to chiefly represent." Examinations were held annually during Sir G Campbell s administration and for some time afterwards, for admission into the Native Civil Service, but later other arrangements were made for supplying the vacancies in the Subordinate Executive Service

Northern Bengal Railway

It was in 1871 72 that surveys were undertaken with a view to establish railway communication from the north bank of the Ganges with the districts in the direction of Darjeeling More than 1000 miles of proposed and alternative railways were surveyed and it was reported that along any of these routes a narrow gauge railway could be constructed for about £6000 a mile Preliminary surveys were made for a line from a point on the Ganges opposite to one of the principal stations of the Eastern Bengal line through the rich and populous districts of North Bengal several of which had a population exceeding 600 per square mile and which produced enormous quantities of jute rice tobacco, sugar silk and other staples. The line would, it was said open up a country of great commercial importance sealed up for 8 months of the year and most inaccessible to the officers of Government and other travellers at all seasons It would run up to the foot of the Himalayas and terminate among the tea gardens of the *Tarai* under the hill stations of Darjeeling and Kurseong The report of the engineers was very favourable to the construction of a cheap line The Government of India in November 1872 accepted Sir G Campbell s views that the Northern Bengal Railway ought to be undertaken and that the line advocated by the Bengal Government and the engineer (Major Lindsay, R. E) was the best that could be chosen They suggested that branches to Rangpur Bogra Dinajpur and other centres of trade would soon be found necessary when the trunk line was formed. Sir G Campbell also contemplated an extension towards Assam By the end of March 1873 the whole length of the Northern Bengal Railway of 204 miles was staked out and before the end of that year in consequence of the precarious prospects of the crops in the districts through which

the line would run, the Government of India sanctioned the immediate commencement of work and many famine labourers were relieved by employment on the railway embankments Extensions to Kuch Bihar and up the Tista valley were also suggested Labour was at no time very abundant the people were not largely attracted to the railway works because the line did not run through the most most distressed tracts as they subsequently became defined, the demand for labour was most marked in Dinajpur and Bogra Nevertheless, great progress was made before the rains of 1874

The Garo hills formed the most western portion of the hilly country between Assam on one side and the Sylhet and Mymensingh districts on the other They were still marked as unexplored on the maps and were inhabited by a people of unquiet and marauding character, never yet subdued by any power and prone to commit depredations from the earliest times of our rule A considerable portion of the hills had been brought within the pale of regular Government, but communities of independent Garos continued to commit outrages on our dependent villages, so that Sir G. Campbell felt compelled with regard to the peace of the neighbouring districts to propose to terminate their partial independence He thought the pear was ripe, and that a savage enclosure within our frontier should be terminated An expedition was sanctioned, and was most successful The expeditionary force of 500 armed police, supported by 3 companies of regular troops, was divided into 3 columns, 2 of which entered the hills from the Goalpara and Mymensingh districts, and the third started from Tura under the Deputy Commissioner of the Garo hills about the middle of November 1872 With little bloodshed or loss the independent country was completely occupied and subjected The tribes seemed to be taken by surprise and submitted without any serious fight Armed police posts were established, the ordinary petty tribute paid by the hill people was exacted and complete arrangements were made by the Deputy Commissioner, suitable to a simple people, for the administration of the territory, which gave no further trouble to the Government of Bengal

The Garo expedition

About this time too the Daflas along the Durrang and North Lakhimpur borders of Assam came into notice by perpetrating a raid in February 1872 on Dafla colonists in British territory, killing 2 persons and carrying off 44 with their

The Daflas

Magistrates to exercise their power to the full without hesitation or misgiving and the police officers to feel that their position was in no degree equivocal and that the situation must be accepted. In issuing rules regarding police procedure in criminal cases he pointed out the relation of the police to the district Magistrate whose hands in fact they were They were the proper agency for him to use for all purposes connected with the peace order and conservancy of the district, the regulation of public assemblies, and other matters of district management, such for instance as looking after the state of the roads. In all duties in which he required it, the Magistrate was to receive from the police active and loyal assistance while he would on the other hand be responsible that the police were not improperly employed. Further looking at the intimate relations existing between the Magistrate and police it was ordered that he should be consulted in regard to their appointments and promotions and a set of rules regulating the procedure in these matters was drawn up and promulgated. Subsequently also District Superintendents of police were prohibited from corresponding direct with the Inspector General of Police or his Deputies all matters except accounts and returns were ordered to be sent through the Magistrate of the district, except when that officer during his absence had given orders to forward any particular case

Subordinate executive establishments—Native Civil Service.

With his experience of other parts of India, Sir G Campbell was much struck with the want—which put district officers at a very great disadvantage—of any local executive establishments corresponding to the *talukdari tahsildari* or *mamlatdari* officials elsewhere He early recorded his opinion that it was not desirable to pay young uncovenanted officers £250 or £300 *per annum* for learning their duty by vivisection and that it was an extraordinary anomaly that while covenanted servants passed many examinations before entering the service uncovenanted servants should enter without any examination at all He set himself therefore to create an organised service supplementary to the existing Subordinate Executive Service to give executive establishments for subdivisions and thereby enable the district officers to administer the country more completely He proposed at the outset to have 100 sets of subdivisional establishments and divide them into 3 grades 33 first

class, 33 second 34 third, composed of Sub-Deputy Collectors, Kanungos, chainmen, and messengers, at a cost of about 2 *lakhs per annum* The Government of India at first sanctioned 20 Sub-Deputies as an experimental measure and subsequently the whole scheme, granting towards it one *lakh* a year from Imperial revenues, being "satisfied that the establishments proposed are actually required The Secretary of State anticipated "the best results from the increased means of efficiency now afforded to the subordinate administration of the Government of Bengal" Sir G Campbell laid it down that the new establishments should not be employed as mere clerks in office, but as executive agents to help the district and sub divisional officers they were to be employed actively for executive, statistical, and (where magisterial powers were given) judicial work The appointments to these establishments were made from among the men qualified by examination for the Native Civil Service, which Sir G Campbell instituted For entrance into this service he prescribed a form of examination, open to all candidates allowed to present themselves in accordance with certain rules Besides the usual tests of educational attainments and character, he laid down that "candidates for appointments of over Rs. 100 a month must show that they can ride at least 12 miles at a rapid pace, candidates for inferior posts must have a similar qualification or be able to walk 12 miles within 3½ hours without difficulty or prostration" This test of physical energy gave rise to some comment and mirth, owing to its novelty and to the discomfiture of some of the candidates, but the propriety of requiring it was generally admitted Classes for teaching the prescribed subjects were opened in the principal schools and colleges, and a Civil Service College was established at Hooghly Promotion was to be made from the lower to the higher grade of the Native Civil Service, according to merit, and Sir G Campbell pledged himself that, whenever possible, Deputy Magistrate-Collectors would be selected from the Sub-Deputies and that men would not, without good and special reason, be taken from outside for these places by mere exercise of patronage In spite of the attractions thus held out, he found his scheme to be unpopular with the public press "The reason however is, he believes, not far to seek An opening-wide of the door of employment must be unpopular with the classes who have hither-

separate from those which were for the guidance of public officers All these requirements were met the rules for the sale of waste lands were re-cast and re issued. Sir G Campbell laid down that no sale should be allowed till the land had been surveyed and examined that no land should be sold over the heads of natives in effective occupation and that land bearing valuable forest or supposed to contain minerals should not be sold without special reference to Government. Lease rules were not formulated but were dealt with according to the merits of each particular case. The Western Duars were excluded from the operation of the general rules for the sale of waste lands a late Commissioner having remarked that these Duars will hereafter be the finest property in Hindustan" as they had a magnificent soil and an abundant water supply

The Pabna rent disturbances.

In 1872 3 agrarian troubles broke out in the district of Pabna in Eastern Bengal accompanied by considerable breaches of the peace. The disturbances originated in the Sirajganj sub-division of that district. The actual rental of the estates in the disturbed *pargana* had not been raised for some years, but the *zamindars* were in the habit of realizing heavy cesses of various sorts which had gone on for so long that it was scarcely clear what portion of their collections was rent and what illegal cesses Whereas under the law rents could only be enhanced by a regular process after notice duly given in the previous year no such notices had been served in Pabna but the *zamindars* or many of them attempted irregularly to effect a large enhancement both by direct increase of rent and by the consolidation of rent and cesses and besides this enhancement they stipulated that the *raiyats* were to pay all cesses that might be imposed by Government and that occupancy raiyats should be made liable to ejectment if they quarrelled with their *zamindar*—conditions which the *raiyats* might very properly resist. The recent inquiries with respect to illegal exactions by *zamindars* and the apprehended extension to the district of the Road Cess Act, under which the rental was registered induced the *zamindars* to try to persuade their tenants to give them written engagements. Some *zamindars* in 1872 actually succeeded in this, and the terms of the engagements granted were very unfair to the *raiyats* These were partially registered but before the process was complete they repudiated the authority of the registering

agent. The difficulties were enhanced by disputes as to measurement, which all over Bengal had always afforded a fertile source of quarrel between landlord and tenant, there being no uniform standard and the local measuring-rod varying from *pargana* to *pargana* and almost from village to village In Pabna especially there was extreme diversity of measuring standards. All the *zamindars* were not equally bad, but there were undoubtedly some among them who resorted to illegal pressure and strongly attempted illegal enhancement, in the cases where the shares were much sub-divided also special oppression was practised and the quarrels among the sharers themselves had not a little to do with the outbreaks

At first, the *raiyats* gave way for the most part, but later one or two villages, which had not been so submissive, gained successes in the courts One village stood out from the first, certain suits for enhanced rents were rejected on appeal after having been won in the Munsif s court, a *raiyat* kidnapped had been liberated and the *zamindar* punished These and other successes gradually turned the scale, and there was a reaction against exorbitant demands after the first surprise was over In the spring the *raiyats* commenced to organize themselves for systematic resistance In May, the league spread, and by the month of June it had spread over the whole of the *pargana* The *raiyats* calmly organized themselves into *bidrohi*, (= rebels,) as they styled themselves, a word which might be interpreted into unionists,—under the influence of an intelligent leader and petty land-holder, and peaceably informed the Magistrates that they had united The terms held out by the league were very tempting, viz, the use of a very large *bigha* of measurement and very low rent, and it was not therefore necessary to resort to much intimidation to induce fresh villages to join In some instances, intimidation was resorted to with this object Towards the latter end of June 1872 emissaries were sent in all directions to extend the league and large bands of villagers were formed No doubt, persons who owed any private grudges, or bad characters for the sake of plunder, took advantage of the assemblies collecting to turn them to their own ends, and to commit the excesses that certainly occurred in several quarters, but of which very exaggerated reports were circulated Serious outrages by *boná fide* tenants were not very numerous, and but a few houses were actually burnt and plundered.

The stories of murders and of other outrages that were current were without foundation. No one in the sub division of Sirajganj was seriously hurt during the disturbances no *zamindar's* house or principal office was attacked and nothing of considerable value was stolen Such cases of violent crime as did occur were due to the criminal class who took advantage of the excitement. At Rangpur Sir G Campbell heard that the uncomfortable relations of the *raiyats* and *zamindars* in Pabna were likely to lead to serious disturbance at Goalundo he met the Magistrate and fully satisfied himself of the course of action being adopted by the authorities. Upon his return to Calcutta he issued the following Proclamation under date the 4th of July —

"Whereas in the district of Pabna, owing to attempts of *zamindars* to enhance rents and combinations of *raiyats* to resist the same, large bodies of men have assembled at several places in a riotous and tumultuous manner and serious breaches of the peace have occurred—This is very gravely to warn all concerned that, while on the one hand the Government will protect the people from all force and extortion, and the *zamindars* must assert any claims they may have by legal means only on the other hand the Government will firmly repress all violent and illegal action on the part of the *raiyats* and will strictly bring to justice all who offend against the law to whatever class they belong

'The *raiyats* and others who have assembled are hereby required to disperse, and to prefer peaceably and quietly any grievances they may have. If they so come forward, they will be patiently listened to but the officers of Government cannot listen to rioters on the contrary, they will take severe measures against them.

"It is asserted by the people who have combined to resist the demands of the *zamindars* that they are to be the *raiyats* of Her Majesty the Queen, and of Her only These people, and all who listen to them, are warned that the Government cannot and will not interfere with the rights of property as secured by law; that they must pay what is legally due from them to those to whom it is legally due It is perfectly lawful to unite in a peaceable manner to resist any excessive demands of the *zamindars* but it is not lawful to unite to use violence and intimidation.

While the attitude of Government was thus made clear measures were taken for the restoration of peace and order Extra police were despatched to the district whereupon rioting ceased almost immediately after many arrests had been made principally for

rioting and illegal assembly, and 147 persons convicted But there was no abatement of the combinations of the *rayats*, and the movement spread through most of the Pabna district, and into Bogra the *rayats* met the demand of the *zamindars* for too much by offering too little Sir G Campbell anxiously considered what the further duty of Government should be in the matter He did not see his way to interfere by legislation without raising very great questions which could not be settled without long and difficult discussions His course was to attempt to promote compromise by influence and advice He addressed himself to the best of the *zamindars*, and desired the local officers to do so The *zamindars* were urged to offer reasonable terms of present settlement and future security to the *rayats*, and the latter were strongly advised and urged to accept such terms as the Government officers thought reasonable Considerable success attended these efforts Meantime there was a remarkable subsidence of unhealthy excitement The organs of the *zamindars* urged direct Government interference by means of a Commission empowered to settle differences The Government of India also suggested this solution Sir G Campbell had been reluctant to appoint extra Munsifs to try the rent-cases, and had found that things settled themselves much more fairly by compromise than extra Munsifs could settle them He saw that the whole question of the relations of landlords and tenants was being raised, and doubted whether it would be possible to avoid some further review and adjustment of the rent law, as there was great difficulty in determining what rents were really payable and the *zamindar's* claims to enhancement As to the appointment of a special Commission, he objected to one that would merely deal summarily with the differences between landlord and tenant, but expressed his acceptance of one that would deal thoroughly with the points at issue and settle them for a long time As a fact no special Commission was appointed partly by compromise, partly by the natural movement of events, partly by the shadow of the impending famine of 1873-4, the Pabna difficulties to a very great extent settled themselves for the time The disputes between landlords and tenants, in fact, remained in abeyance during the famine which postponed the adjustment of the rent question Still things were unsettled in several districts though the public peace

was not again disturbed and in some cases the scene of the struggle was transferred to the Civil Courts.

These Pabna rent disturbances of 1873 were really the origin of the discussion and action which eventually led to the enactment of the Bengal Tenancy Act, I of 1885

To increase the efficiency and working powers of the Government of Bengal it seemed to Sir G Campbell indispensably necessary to have Government offices concentrated in one building those of the Bengal Government were at that time scattered about far apart in different quarters of Calcutta. The Bengal Secretariat had been several times moved In 1854 the office was at 1 Council House Street in 1856 it was at Somerset Buildings, Strand in Sir G Campbell s time it occupied two houses one in Chowringhi (on the site of the present School of Art) the other in Sudder Street. Funds were provided for the proposed concentration, but there was difficulty about a site. Sir G Campbell would have preferred the strip of waste land between Tolly s nala and Lower Circular Road, and between the Alipore and Kidderpore bridges lying outside the official limits of the Calcutta *maidan* but the Commander in Chief objected and the Government of India were averse to any encroachment on the *maidan* whether within or without the official limits It was then proposed as the most economical arrangement to utilize Writers Buildings, on the North of Dalhousie Square for the purpose It was intended to enlarge Writers Buildings, connect them with the old Custom house and locate as many offices as possible in this range. But this scheme was indefinitely delayed because the East India Railway rented part of Writers Buildings from the Bengal Government for offices, and other accommodation for them was not forthcoming

Concentration of Government offices.

The system of parallel promotion as it was called in the Executive and Judicial lines of the Civil Service dates from Sir G Campbell s time His object was to stop Civil Servants from being almost of necessity changed from the Executive to the Judicial line and *vice versa* at every frequently recurring step of promotion. It was settled therefore that they should be invited after some years' service to chose one line or the other in which they should ordinarily be required to remain To make the attractions of each line fairly equal it was necessary to equalize the

Parallel promotion.

salaries of the Magistrate-Collectors and of the Judges, i e, so to adjust the salaries that it would not be necessary to promote every Magistrate-Collector to be a Judge for the sake of the increase in salary Sir G Campbell proposed that there should be 30 officers of each grade, 15 of each on Rs 2,500 *per mensem* and 15 on Rs 2,000 Eventually sanction was given to a cadre of 15 Judges on Rs 2,500 each, 15 on Rs 2,000 each, 15 Magistrate-Collectors on Rs 2,250 each, 15 on Rs 1,800 each, 6 on Rs 1,500 each One object of this scheme was to obviate the evils arising from too frequent changes and to secure more permanent, more efficient and more experienced officers for the charge of districts and other important posts A greater degree of permanency of officers in their posts was attained by this system and it was generally approved Before resigning office Sir G Campbell strongly urged upon the attention of the Viceroy the claim of the Bengal officers to such an addition of pay as would at least put them in that respect on an equal footing with the officers of other provinces but the representation produced no result

Experimental farms

Some progress was made in Sir G Campbell's time in the establishment of experimental farms, of which he wrote in not a very sanguine tone

"The Lieutenant-Governor knows that there is but little reality in our farms at present, but he hopes for the future and has persevered in getting up the forms of farms, in the hope that we shall put life into them afterwards The view we have in establishing these farms is three-fold —(1) the introduction of scientific cultivation, (2) the teaching of improved agricultural processes for economising labour, (3) the introduction of new staple products into the country The fact remains, however, that in practical husbandry the native agriculturists must and will beat us until we have as exact a knowledge as themselves of the soil, climate, and plants of the country This can only be attained by careful and protracted observation of their modes of farming by educated European farmers, who, instead of interfering too much with the natives, will be content to watch, season after season, every one of their processes and the way in which they encounter the emergencies of Indian agriculture Not until we have done all this, and have become familiar with the character and resources of native husbandry, can we hope to set up a model farm amongst them that will not bring discredit upon us by failure The Lieutenant-Governor therefore has dropped the term "model" farms altogether And as to the nature of our experimental farms, our first efforts should be, His Honor thinks, not to farm directly ourselves, but to

select intelligent *raiyats* to farm after their own fashion upon our land under the supervision of our agents, encouraging them to emulate each other's efforts and giving slight assistance for the purpose of drawing out the full extent of their knowledge and aptitude as cultivators. In the course of 3 or 4 seasons a good European farmer would then have mastered the whole extent of their resources and knowledge, and would probably be prepared with well considered plans for supplementing the defective resources of the *raiyat* improving his processes, introducing new ones, and establishing what we might perhaps call with propriety a "model farm The prime difficulty is that we can do nothing effectual until we get a proper man to advise us at the headquarters of the Government."

While attempts were being made to get a good head agriculturist for Calcutta, a beginning had been effected with the experimental farms at various places.

Inquiries conducted by orders of Sir G Campbell made it clear that in spite of the positive prohibitions of the law cesses and duties in large numbers were levied by almost every land-holder These illegal levies were divisible into two classes (1) illegal transit and market dues taken from the general public and (2) illegal cesses levied from the agricultural *raiyats* by the landlords in addition to the legal rents. As to the former in the absence of legislation Sir G Campbell was not willing to take measures not urgently necessary He did not propose to interfere immediately with private markets on private ground where the proprietor supplied sheds, and facilities for trade and was moderate in his demands but he drew a distinction between public and private markets and directed that market duties other than regular shop-rents should be prevented in public markets and bazars He also issued orders to stop the levy of illegal river and mooring tolls With regard to the large number of various dues and charges levied from the *raiyats* he ruled that district officers should interfere in the case of any extreme oppression In any case in which any duress or violence is used by *zamindars* or others to enforce illegal cesses, the Magistrate should interfere promptly treating the matter as an extortion and wherever in any particular estate the *zamindar* by any means manages to collect from his *raiyats* inordinate cesses exceeding those sanctioned by the usages fo that part of the country measures should be taken to inquire and

Illegal exactions by zamindars.

ascertain the facts, to protect and instruct the *raiyats* as to their rights, and generally to put a stop to such oppressions by every legal and proper means" Advantage was also taken of the opportunity offered by the publication of the Road Cess rules to make it generally known to the people that, excepting that one cess, of which the burden on the *raiyats* was to be strictly limited in each district, all other cesses were illegal and irrecoverable by law. Sir G Campbell proposed to take special measures in Orissa to protect the *raiyats* and punish *zamindars* who had most frequently violated the law but the Government of India and the Secretary of State declined to sanction them As to the general question Sir R. Temple concurred with Sir G Campbell in thinking that, while cases of the extortion of illegal cesses by violence should not be suffered to go unpunished, and while district officers might properly interfere in instances of clear oppression (if such instances should unhappily occur), the question might in general be left to adjust itself in the manner which would naturally result from the gradual spread of education, intelligence, and independence among the classes from whom the cesses had previously been levied With these views the Government of India concurred.

Constitutional changes contemplated

Sir G Campbell expressed his strong opinion that the position of the Bengal Government should be either raised or lowered i e either the Government should be strengthened with reference to the vastness of its territories and responsibilities, or reduced to more limited functions; and not only should the Government itself be strengthened, but the excessive length of the official chain should be shortened His general plan was to amalgamate the Board of Revenue with the Government, and perhaps include the executive functions of the High Court—"so great a Government cannot be efficiently carried on by one man alone" The Government of India preferred the alternative of diminishing the territories of the Bengal Government and relieving it of the political affairs of the frontier This was effected, eventually, by making Assam and the adjacent districts of Bengal into a separate Administration, a proposal to which Sir G. Campbell did not object He still adhered to the idea of shortening the official chain, but it was understood that he did not approve of the possibility of being outvoted by Members of Council as col-

leagues. The subject of constitutional changes in the Government has from that date made no advance though it has often been alluded to in a desultory manner

Sir G Campbell also placed it on record that the constitution of the Calcutta Municipality required reform. In his time there was friction between the Chairman and the Justices and some of the latter had taken a line adverse to Government, and were not responsible to any constituency whereas Sir G Campbell was of opinion that there should be an efficient control by a responsible Chairman and by Government It was found that busy men could not spare the time to listen to long speeches and take part in municipal affairs so that the latter had fallen into the hands of a few individuals but he felt that costly improvements were required which should be dealt with by a responsible body and that Government should have a sufficient controlling voice

Reform of the Calcutta Municipality

"He was more and more convinced that the present constitution of the Calcutta Municipality is not good. There is too much of a spurious independence. There has been occasion for question whether a body of well to-do householders have not preferred to reduce the direct house taxation when taxation affecting a poorer class had perhaps greater claims to consideration. The Justices are so far independent of the Government that the Government really is not responsible for the great and weighty matters affecting the metropolis of India which are involved in great undertakings and much expenditure of money with a rapidly increasing debt. Not being in a position to interfere with dignity and effect, it is compelled very much to abstain from interference. On the other hand, the Committee of Justices and such bodies, to whom many things are now delegated are not efficient for executive work, as was, for instance, prominently brought to light by the failure of the Calcutta Census. The position of the Chairman is exceptionally difficult and unpleasant, and it is only in the case of a singular personal influence that any officer so placed can combine efficiency with smoothness of working—the one is almost necessarily sacrificed to any attempt to obtain the other Much had been achieved by Mr (Sir) S S Hogg but the Lieutenant Governor much fears that some very important questions have lately drifted. His personal opinion is that the Municipality should be radically reformed. At the same time, to devise a good constitution for such a town is a work of extreme difficulty; and perhaps, discouraged by the ill success of his endeavours for Municipal reform the Lieutenant Governor has not yet attempted it."

The most important Acts of 1873 were those relating to Embankments and Drainage, and Emigration So far back as 1868 the attention of Government had been drawn to the injuries sustained in a district from inundation, owing to certain obstructions erected in a drainage channel and the desirability of providing for the drainage of tracts which might be intimately connected with embankments had come to light In due course the Embankment Act, VI (B C) of 1873, was passed to consolidate the law and give ample powers to the Collectors of Land Revenue and to the district engineers acting under their authority to take charge of, remove, or alter existing embankments, to improve drainage and remove obstructions to it, to construct and open or shut sluices in embankments for irrigation or other purposes In ordinary cases the procedure of the Act provided for full publicity being given to the proceedings of the Government officers, and for due notice being given to parties whose interests might be in any way affected. In cases of emergency, however, where life or property was in imminent danger, the ordinary procedure might be dispensed with, and such immediate action be taken as might be found necessary. The land required for works was to be ordinarily acquired under the Land Acquisition Act, but strict procedure was to be dispensed with in urgent cases An entirely new feature of the Act was the provision for charging the cost of works to estates in proportion to the extent to which they were benefited, and the schedule contained a list of embankments the property of Government and maintained and kept up at the public expense The Bill became law at a most opportune moment, and Sir G Campbell, immediately on receiving the Viceroy's assent, issued a circular calling the attention of all local officers to the Act, and pointing out that it could be most usefully applied with the object of affording labour to the sufferers from the scarcity in the distressed districts The works connected with the Gandak embankment were at once brought under the Act

Embankment and Drainage Act

Certain defects having been discovered in the law regulating the transport of emigrants to the districts of Assam, Cachar, and Sylhet, it was found necessary to pass Act VII (B C) of 1873, or the "Labour Districts Emigration Act" to remedy the defects, and consolidate the law relating to the

Labour Emigration Act

APPENDIX A.

Exports of Afghan Goods Across the Indo-Afghan Frontier.

Articles.	1938-39.	1939-40.	Variations (+) Increase (—) Decrease.
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
Animals, Living	8,98,959	11,17,683	+2,18,724
Drugs and Medicines	2,23,842	5,32,820	+3,08,978
Fruits, Nuts and Vegetables	1,06,28,464	88,56,672	—17,71,772
Grain and Pulse	14,531	24,104	+9,573
Hides of cattle	15,842	7,087	—8,755
Skins and Furs :—			
(1) Skins of sheep, goats, and small animals imported for tanning.	2,93,402	3,60,721	+67,319
(2) Persian lamb skins: Takkar and Karakuli.	1,03,55,068	2,45,58,993	+1,42,03,925
(3) Furs, etc.	5,00,658	43,129	—4,57,529
Leather and manufactures thereof	420	7,540	+7,120
Perfumery	..	3,200	+3,200
Provisions	55,529	1,33,035	+77,506
Spices	1,02,595	5,68,142	+4,65,547
Textiles :—			
(i) Cotton, raw	3,85,102	20,35,870	+16,50,768
(ii) Wool—			
(a) Raw	1,45,175	6,59,841	+5,14,666
(b) Manufactures—Blankets, carpets, etc.	11,49,619	6,35,638	—5,13,981
Tobacco	16,729	30,396	+13,667
Wood and Timber	450	415	—35
All other articles of merchandise	1,09,061	1,31,385	+22,324
TOTAL	2,48,95,446	3,97,06,671	+1,48,11,225

APPENDIX B—*contd.*

Imports into Afghanistan of Indian goods across the Indo-Afghan Frontier —contd.

Articles.	1938-39.	1939-40.	Variations (+) Increase (—) Decrease.
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
Motor Spirit	..	6,691	+6,691
Kerosene Oil	17,114	1,563	—15,551
Vegetable Oils	2,166	10,899	+8,733
Paper	39,268	1,29,695	+90,427
Provisions	19,179	37,462	+18,283
Salt	50,523	42,499	—8,024
Spices	19,915	49,622	+29,707
Sugar	41,078	39,272	—1,806
Tea :—			
Black	72,039	1,17,526	+45,487
Green	2,79,436	6,70,954	+3,91,518
Textiles :—			
(i) Cotton Piecegoods	22,87,066	28,18,217	+5,31,151
(ii) Other manufactures of cotton	3,44,101	4,20,527	+76,426
(iii) Jute—Gunny bags and hessians	22,804	61,652	+38,848
(iv) Silk Manufactures	44,077	1,45,190	+1,01,113
(v) Wool manufactures	1,762	9,934	+8,172
Tobacco, manufactured	25,255	25,360	+105
All other articles of merchandise	2,59,304	2,97,665	+38,361
Total	50,70,332	72,79,399	+22,09,067

APPENDIX C—*contd.*

A.—Imports into Afghanistan of Foreign Goods in Transit through India—contd.

Articles and Countries.	1938-39.	1939-40.	Variations (+) Increase (—) Decrease.
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
Building Materials—			
United Kingdom	1,276	..	—1,276
Germany	76,032	16,042	—59,990
Japan	..	62	+62
TOTAL	77,308	16,104	—61,204
Chemicals—			
United Kidgdom	6,651	17,389	+10,738
Poland	202	96	—106
Germany	3,829	30,301	+26,472
Spain	59	..	—59
Italy	3,397	45,810	+42,419
China	..	645	+645
Japan	36	373	+337
U. S. A.	986	556	—430
Belgium	..	108	+108
France	..	36	+36
TOTAL	15,160	95,320	+80,160
Drugs, Medicines and Perfumery—			
United Kingdom	61,266	21,025	—40,241
Germany	1,32,482	53,854	—78,628
Canada	176	..	—176
Netherlands	1,930	..	—1,930

APPENDIX C—*contd.*

A.—Imports into Afghanistan of Foreign Goods in Transit through India—contd.

Articles and Countries.	1938-39.	1939-40.	Variations (+) Increase (—) Decrease.
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
Dyeing Materials—*contd.*			
Japan	649	2,315	+1,666
U. S. A.	..	3,738	+3,738
Denmark	..	283	+283
*	..	20	+20
TOTAL	45,906	76,587	+30,681
Fruits, Nuts and Vegetables—United Kingdom	541	..	—541
Germany	109	..	—109
Iraq	81	..	—81
TOTAL	731	..	—731
Glass and Glassware—United Kingdom	745	846	+101
Hong Kong	..	94	+94
Germany	10,599	31,714	+21,115
Netherlands	726	1,524	+798
Italy	6,656	6,923	+267
Czechoslovakia	27,279	161	—27,118
Japan	14,115	21,703	+7,588
Belgium	5,745	2,581	—3,164
France	537	..	—537
Austria	122	..	—122
China	56	749	+693
U. S. A.	..	3,631	+3,631
TOTAL	66,580	69,926	+3,346

* Country of origin not available.

APPENDIX C—*contd.*

A.—*Imports into Afghanistan of Foreign Goods in Transit through India*—contd.

Articles and Countries.	1938-39.	1939-40.	Variations (+) Increase (—) Decrease.
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
Hardware and other iron and steel materials—*contd.*			
Netherlands	121	537	+416
Canada	311	..	—311
Esthonia	67	134	+67
Yugo-Slavia	335	..	—335
Commonwealth of Australia	..	220	+220
*	3,025	15,130	+12,105
TOTAL	8,38,520	5,78,510	—2,60,010
Instruments, Apparatus, Appliances and parts thereof—			
United Kingdom	39,703	81,137	+41,434
Sweden	4,387	10,251	+5,864
Germany	2,29,663	1,68,715	—60,918
Belgium	3,457	122	—3,335
Netherlands	335	474	+139
France	4,500	15,950	+11,450
Egypt	..	680	+680
Italy	222	10,467	+10,245
Austria	288	..	—288
Czechoslovakia	14,241	59,653	+45,412
Hungary	..	1,478	+1,478
Siam	7,516	..	—7,516
China	..	208	+208
Japan	2,160	6,448	+4,288
U. S. A.	24,012	[illegible]	[illegible]

* Country of origin not available.

APPENDIX C—*contd.*

A.—Imports into Afghanistan of Foreign Goods in Transit through India— contd.

Articles and Countries.	1938-39.	1939-40.	Variations (+) Increase (—) Decrease.
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
Machinery and Millwork—			
United Kingdom	72,211	14,59,328	+13,87,117
Germany	12,68,542	9,39,544	—3,28,998
Switzerland	720	..	—720
U. S. A.	63,353	61,948	—1,405
Japan	953	866	—87
Czechoslovakia	3,64,749	5,22,602	+1,57,853
France	14,354	8,977	—5,377
Italy	35,992	1,67,766	+1,31,774
Sweden	550	225	—325
Netherlands	..	33,023	+33,023
TOTAL	18,21,424	31,94,279	+13,72,855
Metals and manufactures of Metals: Brass and copper and manufactures thereof—			
United Kingdom	1,833	38,789	+36,956
Narway	..	1,197	+1,197
Straits Settlements	3,251	15,543	+12,292
Germany	95,830	92,341	—3,489
Austria	..	67	+67
France	247	4,663	+4,416
Belgium	..	3,783	+3,783
Czechoslovakia	357	164	—193
Sweden	..	795	+795
Japan	6,208	8,558	+2,350
U. S. A.	395	94	—301
Esthonia	..	50	+50
TOTAL	1,08,121	1,66,044	+57,923

APPENDIX C—*contd.*

A.—Imports into Afghanistan of Foreign Goods in transit through India—
contd.

Articles and Countries.	1938-39.	1939-40.	Variations (+) Increase (—) Decrease.
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
Paper—*contd.*			
Sweden	2,446	2,919	+473
Austria	70	157	+87
Japan	97	1,596	+1,499
Czechoslovakia	615	1,453	+838
Netherlands	8,777	5,976	—2,801
Italy	37	..	—37
United States of America	..	63	+63
Finland	16,909	..	—16,909
Switzerland	..	155	+155
Commonwealth of Australia	52	..	—52
Esthonia	..	4,202	+4,202
France	..	1,668	+1,668
*	..	1,014	+1,014
TOTAL	55,279	44,646	—10,633
Provisions—			
United Kingdom	17,143	[illegible]	[illegible]
Denmark	465	[illegible]	[illegible]
Netherlands	949	1,139	[illegible]
Germany	10,048	1,433	[illegible]
United States of America	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Norway	[illegible]	127	[illegible]
Italy	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Switzerland	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Austria	147	..	[illegible]

* Country of origin not available.

APPENDIX C—contd.

A.—Imports into Afghanistan of Foreign Goods in transit through India—contd.

Articles and Countries.	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
Paper—*contd.*			
Sweden	[illegible]	[illegible]	−[illegible]
Austria	[illegible]	[illegible]	−[illegible]
Japan	[illegible]	[illegible]	−[illegible]
Czechoslovakia	[illegible]	[illegible]	−[illegible]
Netherlands	[illegible]	[illegible]	−[illegible]
Italy	[illegible]	[illegible]	−[illegible]
United States of America	[illegible]	...	−[illegible]
Finland	...	[illegible]	−[illegible]
Switzerland	[illegible]	...	−[illegible]
Commonwealth of Australia	...	[illegible]	−[illegible]
Esthonia	[illegible]	...	−[illegible]
France	...	[illegible]	−[illegible]
*	...	[illegible]	−[illegible]
	...	[illegible]	−[illegible]
TOTAL	[illegible]	[illegible]	−[illegible]
Provisions—			
United Kingdom	[illegible]	[illegible]	−[illegible]
Denmark	[illegible]	[illegible]	−[illegible]
Netherlands	[illegible]	[illegible]	−[illegible]
Germany	[illegible]	[illegible]	−[illegible]
United States of America	[illegible]	[illegible]	−[illegible]
Norway	[illegible]	[illegible]	−[illegible]
Italy	[illegible]	[illegible]	−[illegible]
Switzerland	[illegible]	[illegible]	−[illegible]
Austria	[illegible]	...	−[illegible]

* Country of origin not available.

APPENDIX C—*contd.*

A.—*Imports into Afghanistan of Foreign Goods in transit through India*—contd.

Articles and Countries.	1938-39.	1939-40.	Variations (+) Increase (—) Decrease.
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
Paper—contd.			
Sweden	2,446	2,919	+473
Austria	70	157	+87
Japan	97	1,596	+1,499
Czechoslovakia	615	1,453	+838
Netherlands	8,777	5,976	—2,801
Italy	37	..	—37
United States of America	..	63	+63
Finland	16,909	..	—16,909
Switzerland	..	155	+155
Commonwealth of Australia	52	..	—52
Esthonia	..	4,202	+4,202
France	..	1,668	+1,668
*	..	1,014	+1,014
TOTAL	55,279	44,646	—10,633
Provisions—			
United Kingdom	17,143	9,091	—8,019
Denmark	465	540	+75
Netherlands	949	1,139	+ [illegible]
Germany	10,048	1,433	—8, [illegible]
United States of America	3,750	2,091	—1, [illegible]
Norway	663	127	[illegible]
Italy	1,591	[illegible]	[illegible]
Switzerland	2,04[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Austria	[illegible]147	[illegible]	[illegible]

* Country of origin [illegible]

APPENDIX C—*contd.*

A.—*Imports into Afghanistan of Foreign Goods in transit through India—contd.*

Articles and Countries.	1938-39.	1939-40.	Variations (+) Increase (—) Decrease.
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
Tea: Black—			
China	75	38	—37
Straits Settlements	..	401	+401
Green—			
China	3,30,062	2,61,576	—68,486
Japan	6,52,051	3,57,280	—2,94,771
TOTAL	9,82,188	6,19,388	—3,62,800
Textile—			
(i) Cotton manufactures—			
United Kingdom	2,16,461	1,97,517	—18,944
Germany	6,630	2,225	—4,405
Italy	6,729	22,190	+15,461
China	11,954	87,465	+75,511
U. S. A.	184	..	—184
Japan	41,71,848	50,89,704	+9,17,856
Netherlands	1,511	709	
British Africa	165	..	
France	2,811	1,410	
Czechoslovakia	2,654	..	
Poland	..	2,298	
TOTAL	44,20,947		
(ii) Jute manufactures—			
United Kingdom	..		
TOTAL	..		

APPENDIX C—*contd.*

A.—Imports into Afghanistan of Foreign Goods in transit through India—contd.

Articles and Countries.	1938-39.	1939-40.	Variations (+) Increase (—) Decrease.
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
Tobacco, Manufactured—			
United Kingdom	35,178	36,820	+1,642
Germany	788	..	—788
France	13	..	—13
Turkey	1,289	1,647	+358
Arabia	459	212	—247
Japan	1,623	..	—1,623
U. S. A.	2,653	2,884	+231
Greece	..	209	+209
TOTAL	42,003	41,772	—231
Vehicles—			
(i) Motor cars—			
United Kingdom	4,344	..	—4,344
Germany	1,739	..	—1,739
France	13,589	..	—13,589
U. S. A.	1,54,424	3,50,003	+1,95,579
Czechoslovakia	8,550	3,493	—5,057
Italy	..	45,637	+45,637
TOTAL	1,82,646	3,99,133	+2,16,487
(ii) Motor lorries, buses, etc.—			
United Kingdom	4,90,228	34,690	—4,55,538
Germany	1,07,909	..	—1,07,909
U. S. A.	2,44,261	6,79,490	+4,35,229
TOTAL	8,42,398	7,14,180	[illegible]

APPENDIX C—*contd.*

A.—Imports into Afghanistan of Foreign Goods in transit through India— contd.

Articles and Countries.	1938-39.	1939-40.	Variations (+) Increase (—) Decrease.
Tobacco, Manufactured—	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
United Kingdom	35,178	36,820	+1,642
Germany	788	..	—788
France	13	..	—13
Turkey	1,289	1,647	+358
Arabia	459	212	—247
Japan	1,623	..	—1,623
U. S. A.	2,653	2,884	+231
Greece	..	209	+209
TOTAL	42,003	41,772	—231
Vehicles—			
(i) Motor cars—			
United Kingdom	4,344	..	—4,344
Germany	1,739	..	—1,739
France	13,589	..	—13,589
U. S. A.	1,54,424	3,50,003	+1,95,579
Czechoslovakia	8,550	3,493	—5,057
Italy	..	45,637	+45,637
TOTAL	1,82,646	3,99,133	+2,16,487
(ii) Motor lorries, buses, etc.—			
United Kingdom	4,90,228	34,690	—4,55,538
Germany	1,07,909	..	—1,07,909
U. S. A.	2,44,251	6,79,490	[illegible]
TOTAL	8,42,[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

APPENDIX C—*contd.*

A.—Imports into Afghanistan of Foreign Goods in transit through India—concld.

Articles and Countries.	1938-39.	1939-40.	Variations (+) Increase (—) Decrease.
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
ALL OTHER ARTICLES OF MERCHANDISE—*contd.*			
Switzerland	25,763	..	—25,763
Italy	3,152	22,452	+19,300
Austria	10,548	261	—10,287
Hungary	170	503	+333
Czechoslovakia	27,628	1,126	—26,502
Arabia	..	1,052	+1,052
China	3,357	8,497	+5,140
Iraq	..	961	+961
Japan	4,82,220	2,59,237	—2,22,983
Egypt	980	..	—980
U. S. A.	69,323	1,79,531	+1,10,208
Esthonia	..	1,780	+1,780
Yugo-Slavia	..	1,999	+1,999
Bulgaria	..	104	+104
TOTAL	20,65,543	8,72,053	—11,93,490
GRAND TOTAL OF MERCHANDISE	1,58,00,566	1,88,07,673	

APPENDIX C.—*concld.*

B.—Imports from India into Afghanistan of Foreign Goods not in transit—contd

Articles.	1938-39.	1939-40.	Variations (+)Increase (—)Decrease.
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
Metals and manufactures of metals—			
(i) Brass and copper and manufacfactures thereof.	2,516	4,172	+1,656
(ii) Iron and steel	33,171	50,590	+17,419
Motor Spirit	51,095	91,041	+39,946
Kerosene Oil	4,202	7,036	+2,834
Vegetable Oils	1,045	80	—965
Paper	5,018	19,594	+14,576
Provisions	3,637	8,024	+4,387
Spices	784	..	—784
Tea— Black	563	..	—563
Green	11,955	14,843	+2,888
Textiles— Cotton manufactures	68,147	29,775	—38,372
Jute manufactures	..	753	+753
Silk manufactures	2,659	42,776	+40,117
Wool manufactures	21,573	20,475	—1,098
Tobacco, manufactured	500	200	—300
All other articles	1,28,544	1,07,954	—20,590
TOTAL	6,12,087	8,18,527	+2,06,440

APPENDIX C.—*concld.*

B.—Imports from India into Afghanistan of Foreign Goods not in transit —contd

Articles.	1938-39.	1939-40.	Variations (+)Increase (—)Decrease.
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
Metals and manufactures of metals—			
(i) Brass and copper and manufactures thereof.	2,516	4,172	+1,656
(ii) Iron and steel	33,171	50,590	+17,419
Motor Spirit	51,095	91,041	+39,946
Kerosene Oil	4,202	7,036	+2,834
Vegetable Oils	1,045	80	—965
Paper	5,018	19,594	+14,576
Provisions	3,637	8,024	+4,387
Spices	784	..	—784
Tea—			
Black	563	..	—563
Green	11,955	14,843	+2,888
Textiles—			
Cotton manufactures	68,147	29,775	—38,372
Jute manufactures	..	753	+753
Silk manufactures	2,659	42,776	+40,117
Wool manufactures	21,573	20,475	—1,098
Tobacco, manufactured	500	200	—300
All other articles	1,28,544	1,07,954	—20,590
TOTAL . .	6,12,087	8,18,527	+2,06,440

APPENDIX D—*contd.*

Statement showing the share of different countries in the total imports into Afghanistan during the years 1938-39 and 1939-40—contd.

Country.	Amount in Indian Rupees.	
	1938-39.	1939-40.
Germany	37,19,101	17,83,299
Hong Kong	587	960
Hungary	9,317	8,589
India	50,70,332	72,79,399
Iran	1,49,262	15,05,365
Iraq	359	1,010
Italy	1,18,337	5,45,254
Japan	57,62,358	64,76,711
Java	5,54,133	16,35,403
Netherlands	16,372	49,854
Norway	12,053	1,889
Poland	30,763	7,541
Spain	1,030	2,721
Straits Settlements	23,668	95,243
Sweden	18,105	24,438
Switzerland	31,514	10,334
Turkey	2,469	1,647
United Kingdom	13,42,420	22,47,171
United States of America	[illegible]	14,79,031
Yugo-Slavia		
Other countries		

APPENDIX E—*contd.*

Statement showing the value of exports made by the various Shirkats in Afghanistan.

Year.	Article.	Value in Afghanis.						
		Ittehadia-i-Herat.	Ittehadia-i-Shimali and Cotton Co.	Shirkat-i-Ashami.	Opium Company.	Shirkat-i-Watan.	Shirkat-i-Sehgana and Umumi.	Total.
		Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
1316 Shamsi (1937-38)	Wool	69,95,112	46,05,856	8,21,830	..	80,16,131	..	2,04,38,929
	Cotton	3,051	71,61,968	17,37,566	..	..	..	89,02,585
	Karakuli, *Dobar* and Baghna.	80,62,205	..	32,09,304	..	..	6,56,67,659	7,69,39,168
	Sesame	..	2,38,886	..	..	..	..	2,38,886
	Opium	..	..	..	20,69,898	..	..	20,69,898
	Carpets	..	..	5,01,049	..	..	..	5,01,049
	Goat and sheep skins	3,46,432	60,379	..	..	..	..	4,06,811
	Pistachio	73,575	..	88,987	..	..	..	1,62,562
	Total	1,54,80,375	1,20,67,089	63,58,736	20,69,898	80,16,131	6,56,67,659	10,96,59,888
1317 Shamsi (1938-39)	Camel Hair	2,12,294	..	..	..	..	..	2,12,294
	Wool	65,81,174	40,50,211	..	..	32,75,894	..	1,39,07,279
	Cotton	4,94,561	42,02,105	..	..	..	..	46,96,666
	Opium	..	..	..	16,21,520	..	..	16,21,520
	Sheep and Goat skins	1,43,078	1,25,673	..	..	..	..	2,68,751
	Karakuli and Baghna Skins.	2,29,428	..	..	..	..	8,70,79,634	8,73,09,062
	Pistachio	1,16,016	..	..	..	..	..	1,16,016
	Almonds	..	45,900	..	..	..	..	45,900
	Total	77,76,551	84,23,889	..	16,21,520	32,75,894	8,70,79,634	10,81,77,488

APPENDIX E—*contd.*

Statement showing the value of exports made by the various Shirkats in Afghanistan.

Year.	Article.	Value in Afghanis.						
		Ittehadia-i-Herat.	Ittehadia-i-Shimali and Cotton Co.	Shirkat-i-Ashami.	Opium Company.	Shirkat-i-Watan.	Shirkat-i-Sehgana and Umumi.	Total.
		Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
1316 Shamsi (1937-38)	Wool	69,05,112	46,05,856	8,21,830	..	80,16,131	..	2,04,38,929
	Cotton	3,051	71,61,068	17,37,566	..	..	..	89,02,585
	Karakuli, Dobar and Baghna.	80,02,205	..	32,09,304	..	..	6,56,67,659	7,60,39,168
	Sesame	..	2,38,880	..	..	..	..	2,38,886
	Opium	..	..	..	20,69,898	..	..	20,69,898
	Carpets	..	..	5,01,040	..	..	..	5,01,019
	Goat and sheep skins	3,40,432	60,370	..	..	..	..	4,06,811
	Pistachio	73,575	..	88,987	..	..	..	1,62,562
	Total	1,51,80,375	1,20,67,080	63,58,736	20,69,898	80,16,131	6,56,67,659	10,96,59,888
1317 Shamsi (1938-39)	Camel Hair	2,12,204	..	..	..	..	..	2,12,204
	Wool	65,81,171	40,50,211	..	..	32,75,804	..	1,39,07,270
	Cotton	4,94,561	42,02,105	..	..	..	..	46,96,666
	Opium	..	..	..	10,21,520	..	..	10,21,520
	Sheep and Goat skins	1,43,078	1,25,673	..	..	..	..	2,68,751
	Karakuli and Baghna Skins.	2,29,428	..	..	..	..	8,70,70,634	8,73,09,062
	Pistachio	1,16,016	..	..	..	..	..	1,16,016
	Almonds	..	45,000	..	..	..	..	45,000
	Total	77,76,551	84,23,880	..	10,21,520	32,75,804	8,70,70,634	10,81,77,488

APPENDIX E—*concld.*

Statement showing the value of imports made by the various Shirkats in Afghanistan.

Year.	Article.	Value in Afghanis.				
		Ittehadia-i-Shimali and Cotton Company.	Ittehadia-i-Herat.	Shirkat-i-Ashami, Qandsazi and Motor Company.	Shirkat-i-Pushtun.	Total.
		Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
1316 Shamsi (1937-38)	Piecegoods	86,29,448	63,29,680	..	..	1,49,59,128
	Galoshes	4,19,792	1,57,641	..	..	5,77,433
	Cube Sugar and Sugar Candy	11,29,976	11,14,814	3,50,233	17,000	26,12,023
	Sugar	8,25,688	10,49,255	52,77,141	12,70,926	84,23,010
	Kerosene Oil	3,43,872	94,414	..	..	4,38,286
	Petrol	4,05,810	3,59,258	25,61,872	7,24,728	40,51,668
	Motor Lubricants	..	..	5,82,315	50,000	6,32,315
	Motors	..	..	74,22,062	..	74,22,062
	Total	1,17,54,586	91,05,062	1,61,93,623	20,62,654	3,91,15,925
1317 Shamsi (1938-39)	Piecegoods	92,18,647	28,27,168	..	..	1,20,45,815
	Galoshes	2,95,379	1,57,935	..	..	4,53,314
	Cube Sugar and Sugar Candy	..	..	24,86,175	..	24,86,175
	Sugar	..	..	53,98,112	..	53,98,112
	Kerosene Oil	5,88,340	1,68,261	..	..	7,56,601
	Petrol	..	..	57,73,521	..	57,73,521
	Motor Lubricants	..	..	6,17,494	..	6,17,494
	Motors	..	..	42,69,518	..	42,69,518
	Cement	2,72,987	52,292	..	..	3,25,279
	Miscellaneous	6,61,196	2,19,049	..	..	8,80,245
	Total	1,10,36,549	34,24,705	1,85,44,820	..	3,30,06,074

APPENDIX G.

Statement showing average transport charges for various kinds of merchandise.

Articles.	Rate.		Remarks.
	Minimum.	Maximum.	
	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.	
Between Peshawar and Kabul.			
Sugar	1 8 0	1 8 0	Per maund.
Cement	0 10 0	1 8 0	„ „
Iron and steel and other steel materials	0 10 0	2 0 0	„ „
Machinery	0 10 0	2 0 0	„ „
Leather (Finished)	1 4 0	3 0 0	„ „
Leather (Unfinished)	1 8 0	3 4 0	„ „
Boots and Shoes	1 4 0	3 0 0	„ „
China and glassware	1 0 0	3 0 0	„ „
Piecegoods	0 14 0	2 12 0	„ „
Grain and pulse	0 14 0	2 12 0	„ „
Petrol	65 Puls	65 Puls	Per gallon.
Between Kabul and Mazar-I-Sharif.			
Cement	2 0 Af.	2 0 Af.	Per Kabuli seer.
Iron and steel and other steel materials	2 0 „	2 0 „	„ „ „
Machinery	2 50 „	2 50 „	„ „ „
Piecegoods	2 0 „	2 25 „	„ „ „
Leather	2 50 „	2 50 „	„ „ „

APPENDIX H—*contd.*

Statement showing the wholesale prices of certain principal articles of consumption in the Kabul bazaar at the end of each quarter during the year 1939-40—contd.

Article		Unit.	At the end of June 1939	At the end of September 1939	At the end of December 1939.	At the end of March 1940
			Af	Af.	Af.	Af.
TUSSOR—(Cream colour)—						
Japanese		Per piece of 50 yards	104 0	106 0 to 108 0	115 0	95 0
CHINTZ—(all kinds)—						
Japanese		„ „ „ 30 „	34 0	38 0	50 0	37 0 to 39 0
Russian		„ „ „ 35 meters	42 0	45 0	52 0	52 0
SATIN—						
Japanese		„ „ „ 30 yards	61 0	49 0	55 0	51 0
Russian (Soof)		„ „ „ 30 meters	75 0	80 0	90 0	90 0
POPLIN—Japanese	678	„ „ „ 30 yards	51 50	52 50	52 0	45 0
CHECK CLOTH—						
Indian	5800	„ „ „ 24 „	44 50	44 0	52 0	48 0
	1105	„ „ „ 24 „	15 50	15 0	18 0	15 0
CIGARETTES—						
Goldflake (British)		Per 500 cigarettes	45 0	46 50	50 0	50 0
Scissors (British)		Per 500 cigarettes.	34 0	35 0	37 0	37 0
Abdullah (British) (Imperial (Preference))		Per 200 cigarettes	18 0	19 0	22 0	22 0
Various brands (Indian)		Per 500 cigarettes	15 0	17 0	19 0	19 0
SUGAR—						
Java Crystal		Per Kabul seer.	11 50	11 20	15 15	15 15
Russian cube		Per box of 50 kilos.	89 82	89 82	123 60	123 60
SALT—		Per Kabul seer.	2 50	2 50	4 50	4 75
TEA—						
Japanese (various kinds)		Per Kabul seer.	64 to 95	64 to 100	64 to 100	64 to 80
Shanghai		Per Kabul seer.	100 0	70 to 120	70 [illegible]	[illegible] to 120
Indian (various kinds)		Per Kabul seer.	41 to 58	41 to 58		